SECRET MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT OF PETERSBURG:

PARTICULARLY TOWARDS THE END OF THE

REIGN OF CATHARINE II.

AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF THAT OF

PAUL I.

FORMING

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MANNERS OF PETERSBURG
AT THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY;

AND CONTAINING

VARIOUS ANECDOTES,
COLLECTED DURING A RESIDENCE OF TEN YEARS IN THAT CAPITAL.

TOGETHER WITH REMARKS ON
THE EDUCATION OF THE GRAND-DUKES,
THE MANNERS OF THE LADIES, AND THE RELIGION OF THE PEOPLE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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IF, as ſome pretend, the French revolution be deſtined to ſpread over the globe, Ruſſia will aſſuredly be the laſt place it will reach: it is on the frontiers

of this vaſt empire that the French Hercules will erect his two pillars, and that French liberty will long read, *Ne plus ultra*: it is there that a new world is ſtill hidden from her: there abſolute power ſeems to defy all oppoſition—a conteſt may, however, ere long, take place in the plains of Germany, which may decide the fate of the world. The principles which at preſent prevail in the eaſt and north, are decidedly contrary to thoſe which have of late diſtinguiſhed the ſouth and the weſt. Already the continent ſeems to be wholly divided between two preponderating empires, France and Ruſſia, the views and intereſts of which are diametrically oppoſite: they ſeek an opportunity of joſtling each other, and will cruſh in the ſhock the ſecondary powers by which they are ſtill ſeparated. It will be the combat of Day againſt Night, the laſt conflict of Philoſophy and Reaſon againſt Barbariſm and Ignorance.

Not

Not that light and truth may not be found in Ruſſia; but they who poſſeſs them, ſtill more prudent than Fontenelle *, are ſo far from daring to open their hands to ſpread them abroad, that they ſtrive only to ſtifle them; for they who have knowledge are the only perſons intereſted in maintaining ignorance. Till there ſhall be found in Ruſſia a numerous body of enlightened men, ſuffering by that ſtate of ſervitude under which the people groan, a ſpontaneous revolution muſt not be expected in that country.

If anything at preſent could haſten the moment of attack, it is an ukaſe which Paul has juſt publiſhed; and which, by aboliſhing the degrees of nobility conferred by the poſſeſſion of military rank

* He ſays ſomewhere, " If I had my hand full of truths, I would take care not to open it."

and civil offices, has created a true *third eſtate*, never before known in Ruſſia; a few emancipated vaſſals that have become tradeſmen, or foreign mechanics, did not deſerve this name: there was ſcarcely any diſtinction of perſons except ſlaves and nobles. All who held any rank, civil or military, that is to ſay, all who had a little money or education, acquired nobility or its privileges, and haſtened to enjoy the affectation of its prejudices and ſpirit: but as ſoon as this enlightened part of the nation ſhall loſe its claim to a participation in theſe honours and advantages, it will turn to the ſide of the people. The void heretofore cauſed by abſolute power between the ſlave or peaſant, and the freeman or noble, is now filled up. The third eſtate will riſe up as a giant; with one powerful hand it will exalt the ſlave, with the other it will lower the noble; and perhaps before a

century

century ſhall paſs away, it may have reduced them to a level more happy for both than their preſent ſtate.

Another proceeding of the emperor, which, in contradiction to its original intent, is likely to forward a change, is the ordinance proſcribing printing-houſes in his dominions. He has permitted only three, for the purpoſe of printing his ukaſes, and books for the church, or ſuch as can ſtand the triple ordeal of government, the ſchools, and the Greek church*. In thus attempting to ſuppreſs learning and knowledge, he has rendered them the greateſt ſervice of which he was capable. The moment liberty and philoſophy poſſeſs one free preſs, the greateſt

* He has ſince carried the proſcription of books to great perfection: he has even prohibited the importation of foreign catalogues, and ordered the bookſellers to put on ſuch books as can go through the triple examination, *by imperial permiſſion*, inſtead of *imperial liberty*, which were the words uſed before.

benefit

benefit that can be done them, is to deſtroy all others. All the books that have produced the revolution which the preſent age has witneſſed, are to be found in Ruſſia in great numbers: ſuch as may ſtill be introduced into that country from foreign parts, even from Vienna itſelf, will be better than any that could be printed there with permiſſion*: I maintain, therefore,

* If the reader wiſh for a ſpecimen of the ſcrupuloſity of the Ruſſian cenſor, I will give him one or two prior to Paul's tripling the office. In the reign of Catharine, one Legendre was the cenſor for French books printed at Peterſburg. From a poem, in which the god of love was introduced, he ſtruck out the words *ce dieu malin*, obſerving, that it was indecent to give the epithet of *malicious* to a deity. He allowed the author, however, to ſubſtitute the word *badin*, "waggiſh," for it. Another time he ſtruck out of an ode in praiſe of Catharine a verſe, in which were the following lines:

Partout la foudre gronde ert le glaive s'aiguiſe;
Un roi tombe du trône, et ſon ſceptre ſe briſe.

"Each ſword is ſharpen'd, heav'n with thunder ſhakes,
"A monarch falls, his pow'rleſs ſceptre breaks."

This

fore, that Paul has done great ſervice to liberty and letters.

Ruſſia, however, is ſtill very far from enjoying this benefit in all its extent. The Ruſſian, degraded by ages of ſlavery, reſembles thoſe degenerate animals to whom the domeſtic ſtate is become ſecond nature. It muſt be gradually, and by long and difficult paths, that he returns to liberty: he is yet a ſtranger to the meaning of the word: to him, to be free ſignifies to be able to quit the glebe to which he is chained, and lead an idle vagabond life. Work he deteſts, becauſe he has never worked for himſelf: he has not even an idea of property; his fields, his goods, his wife, his children, himſelf, belong to a maſter, who can diſpoſe of

This was an alluſion to the preparations for war in 1790, and the commencement of the revolution. At that time it was a political hereſy to dare ſurmiſe that Lewis XVI. would fall from the throne.

them;

them, and who does diſpoſe of them at pleaſure. He is intereſted in nothing, becauſe he does not poſſeſs anything: his attachment to his village is that of an ox to the crib to which he is accuſtomed. He is without country, without laws, without religion. Chriſtianity, as taught and practiſed among the Ruſſians, no more deſerves the name of religion, than the ſound which the carman uſes to direct his horſes, deſerves the name of language, as will be evinced in a ſubſequent chapter.

The deſpair of ſome of theſe wretched peaſants may occaſionally, as heretofore, produce local rebellion againſt their lords; but to expect a general revolution in Ruſſia would be chimerical. Ruſſia is too extenſive, and too thinly inhabited, for the people to riſe in a maſs; for a body ſo ſcattered and ſpread abroad would ſoon be ſubdued. Paltry towns, containing a few thouſands of inhabitants, are commonly

monly at a diſtance of more than a hundred miles from each other, without any ſeeming connection but hamlets diſperſed in the woods every twelve or fifteen miles, and almoſt every one of which has its particular ruler. How can a people ſo ſcattered ever combine? A ſingle regiment, under the command of a Suvarof, would be ſufficient to exterminate the population of a whole government.

The natural obſtacles, which *muſcovitiſm* will long oppoſe to all innovations, even the moſt ſalutary, are every day reinforced by auxiliaries arriving in Ruſſia from foreign countries. Ruſſia is now the common aſylum of ignorance, barbariſm, ſuperſtition, and prejudice. Nowhere do men, imbued with ſuch principles, meet ſo friendly a reception as in that country. There they find the infancy of their own country, the golden age of the feudal ſyſtem. On their arrival,

they are aſtoniſhed to find themſelves already too enlightened, too far advanced, for this happy land: afraid of appearing dangerous, they with joy replunge into the thick night of barbariſm in which they were born. Thus the ſluggard cloſes his eyes, and ſinks again into that ſlumber from which the ſun-beams had rouſed him in ſpite of himſelf. The man who carries into thoſe climes ſomething of knowledge and ſentiment, finds it gradually obſcured and extinguiſhed in his heart; and if he happen to obtain a grant of a few hundred ſouls as the price of his own, he thinks it very juſt and very fortunate that there ſhould be ſlaves, and that he is one himſelf *. This mode of purchaſing

* Nothing is ſo fatal to humanity as men who have knowledge without principles, or who abjure thoſe of which their conſcience reminds them. They reſemble thoſe worm-eaten fruits, which are tempting to the eye, but prove nauſeous to the taſte. Theſe men

purchaſing thoſe whoſe knowledge may be uſeful while their probity may be dangerous, is ſo infallible, and has ſo much the appearance of generoſity, that it is to be wondered it is not oftener had recourſe to. The gift of a few ſcore peaſants might change even the ſoul of a Frenchman to that of a Ruſſian.

Yet even in the court of Ruſſia, and among the nobility, there are ſome lofty and generous ſpirits, who, without being the dupes of a ſyſtem of perfect equality, are indignant at the degrading ſelf-denial required of them: for abſolute power ſuits none but barbarians, and this the Ruſſian gentry are no longer. Deſpotiſm, far from ſoftening, and aſſuming a leſs diſguſting mien in proportion as men's

men are particularly dangerous, when they have art enough to conceal errors, ſhocking in themſelves, under ſpecious ſophiſms.

manners

manners grow civilifed, becomes more and more ftiff, and renders its yoke more ridiculous and more odious; it endeavours to return to barbarifm, as the people advance towards civilifation. In other European countries power has defcended a few fteps from its throne, in deference to reafon and public opinion *; but in Ruffia it mounts ftill higher, and tramples even on common fenfe. Till the eighteenth century, it is true, the progrefs of

* The conduct of the young king of Pruffia exhibits a ftriking contraft to that of Paul: one endeavours to exalt himfelf up to heaven; the other, to defcend to the level of his people, and appear only the firft fervant of the ftate. In the fame paper, I read a Ruffian proclamation, which condemns a dozen unfortunate Poles to have their nofes and ears cut off, and to be fent to Siberia, for having been *wanting in the refpect and fidelity* fworn to his Ruffian majefty (it is not faid in what); and a letter from the king of Pruffia to a little town, in which an infurrection had taken place, and in which Frederic-William fpeaks like a father to his children—like a good king, who is proud to be a man.

the

the human mind in Ruſſia was ſo far from parallel to what it was in the reſt of Europe, that the date of the complete enſlavement of the Ruſſians, is that of the eſtabliſhment of commons and emancipation of vaſſals everywhere elſe. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that the tzar who drove the Tatars out of Ruſſia, was the ſame that impoſed on the Ruſſians the ſervitude of the feudal ſyſtem, before unknown in that country *.

This ſtubborn conduct muſt in the end prove fatal to that pride and folly which it is meant to protect: the preſent race of mankind requires management. Power, exhibiting itſelf in the form of a graceful woman crowned with glory, with eaſe re-

* This was the tzar Ivan Baſilovitch I. The Ruſſian hiſtory notwithſtanding ſtyles him the deliverer; and prince Sch**** has written a tolerable epic poem in honour of him.

ceived

ceived homage, in which nothing was felt humiliating: the character of the warrior had ſomething in it of chivalry, and that of the courtier of gallantry, which ſeemed to ennoble it; but to require perſonal adoration, without any of the qualities that might juſtify it, muſt be revolting to every reflecting mind.

Reaſon can never become extinct in minds which it has once inhabited: like the lion in the deſert, it retires ſlowly at the ſight of a numerous and cowardly troop; but if theſe have the audacity to purſue and haraſs him even in his lair, he burſts through their weapons, and conquers or dies. Governors ſhould dread and avoid ſuch actions as may drive reaſon, honour, and good ſenſe to extremities: the exaction of unneceſſary homage may accelerate ſome unexpected cataſtrophe.

ſtrophe *. There is no likelihood of a revolution, after the French model, taking place in Ruſſia as yet; but there may be one, for which it is already ripe—that of a more enlightened ariſtocracy.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the friend of liberty and of Ruſſia cannot wiſh for a change of any other ſort at preſent; it is the only one of which this vaſt empire is yet ſuſceptible. The people, in the deplorable ſtate in which we ſee them, are incompatible to the enjoyment of liberty: they muſt be prepared for it, they muſt be brought to deſire it, before it is offered to them; for now they would abuſe or reject it. It may be ſaid with truth, that the Ruſſian government is leſs inclined to tyranny, than the people are prone to

* The French emigrants are of opinion, that the revolution in France would never have taken place, had not the queen been too negligent of etiquette, and the king too popular!

ſlavery;

ſlavery; ſo low are they debaſed, ſo much is their nature changed. With them, therefore, nothing can be done at preſent *.

Though the nobles ſtill continue the habit of bending before the ſovereign, while they exact ſtill greater ſubmiſſion in their turn from their ſlaves, yet are they becoming daily more and more enlightened. They have been corrupted rather than civiliſed; but they retain ſome virtues, which the laſt thouſand years have been unable to annihilate: worthy in future of a government leſs barbarous, they will require laws written in legible characters. They begin to feel the weight of their chains: ſome day they will burſt

* When I ſpeak here of the Ruſſian people, I do not include the Tatarian hordes, or the Coſſac tribes, who ſtill retain ſome remembrances of a ſort of liberty; but it is the liberty of barbarians, who employ it only to make ſlaves.

them,

them, and then lighten thoſe of their vaſſals *: and perhaps that day is not very far diſtant. Many young minds are warmed with the examples of antiquity, and meditate in ſecret on modern events: many, after having forgotten themſelves for a moment in the hiſtory of other nations, turn back their eyes with diſſatisfaction to their own, and to themſelves. How in fact can ſuch a government exiſt at the end of the eighteenth century, in a country not ſurrounded with a triple wall of braſs, in a country where ſeveral can read, and ſome can think? Will Ruſſians in future ſuffer themſelves to be treated like

* Let not the term of nobles ſtartle the reader: thoſe of Ruſſia do not form, like thoſe of France and Germany, that feudal and chivalrous body which literally conceived itſelf ſprang of different blood from other mortals, and which remained ſeparate from them by its morals and prejudices, as much as by its privileges. The word noble, both in French and German, marks this difference: for it deſignates an innate quality of the mind: *dworannoï*, in Ruſſian, the term for a nobleman, implies only a *proprietor of land*, becauſe land can be poſſeſſed by none but a freeman.

 the

the people of Morocco? In our age, and in Europe, juſtice, glory, virtues, or benefits, can alone ſanction the poſſeſſion of abſolute power, and induce us to pardon the poſſeſſor. Reaſon cannot be compelled to ſilence, but by being dazzled with great actions. Deſpotiſm is an idol, the arm of which is iron, but the feet of clay: its body is of gigantic ſize, but it is hollow: its head is hidden in a thick cloud, which ſlaves take for heaven: there are none but fools, however, who continue to worſhip it; none but cowards who pretend to pay it adoration.

When I point out the nobility, as the only body in Ruſſia on which liberty can firſt rely on her ſetting foot in this empire, I do not mean the contemptible herd that attends the court, as a flight of unclean ravens follows the camp, to devour the carcaſes. There, are everywhere vile and upſtart valets, ſtill more ſo than thoſe who were born courtiers. It is neither

the throne, the altar, nor the perſon of the ſovereign, that produces their attachment; it is the moſt ſordid cowardice: the man in favour and power is always the god they adore. I have ſeen them creep from favourite to favourite, as a caterpillar crawls from leaf to leaf, leaving his excrement on the laſt he gnawed. There is not perhaps one of theſe wretches who now kneel to kiſs the hand of Paul, who would not have cut off that hand a few months ago, at the command of a Potemkin. From ſuch daſtards nothing can be expected but court intrigues or court revolutions, already too frequent in Ruſſia, which ſerve only to prolong barbariſm or miſery. But a few powerful families, in which knowledge has taken its ſeat, as a ſtranger beneath the roof of hoſpitality *; a few young men of courage

* Many of theſe families have not leſs than twenty thouſand ſlaves, towns, cannons, immenſe wealth, and, above all, relations, who are generals and commanders of regiments. This is more than enough: one battle would decide the buſineſs in their favor.

and talents, deſirous of a name, will perhaps avail themſelves of ſome happy circumſtances, to qualify at leaſt the oppreſſive forms of government, till ſomething better can be done; to ſecure a ſovereign worthy of power upon the throne, and give to a ſenate or council of ſome ſort the influence now confined to unworthy favorites; to preſcribe at leaſt ſome bounds to abuſes, which at preſent have not any. What a Dolgoruky could perform half a century ago, others may effect more permanently now *. This project, however, it muſt be confeſſed, can be conceived only by the nobleſt ambition, totally diveſted of petty intereſts: it can be executed only by great courage, great reputation, and ſtill greater perſeverance. There

* The families of Dolgoruky, Galitzin, Soltikof, &c. have often deſerved well of Ruſſia. They were the principal perſons concerned in ſhaking off the unworthy tyranny of a Mentchikof and a Biron; and who would have eſtabliſhed a ſs arbitrary government at the death of Peter II.

is a great difference between the poſſeſſion of talents to fill an important ſtation with dignity, and having the little arts neceſſary to obtain or preſerve it: hence they, who are diſcontented and in diſgrace, are generally the choice of the nobility and of the inhabitants of Moſco: if theſe unite, and once agree on a plan, the reign of blockheads is over. Of all dominations that of folly and ignorance over reaſon and knowledge is the moſt abſurd, and moſt ſhameful to bear. In Ruſſia every path to glory is blocked againſt the ambitious youth, who is conſcious of the powers to reach it. Would he find glory in vanquiſhing ſavages, or conquering *ſteppes* *, under the orders of a favorite, a fool, or a barbarian? Would he ſee it in the antichamber of the court? Would he place it in the purſuit of a ſervile routine, or in forwarding plots, the impolicy or ab-

* *Steppes* is the name given to the deſert plains that ſurround Ruſſia. It is the beſt a Ruſſian general can do.

ſurdity

ſurdity of which he durſt not blame, at ſome foreign court, or in ſome office at home? No: for him the only road to glory is in a new order of things, to which everything invites him.

But a nearer and more unfortunate catastrophe, which ſeems to threaten the tzars, is a diſmemberment of their extenſive territory. For a century paſt, the empire of Ruſſia, like the paſte under the rolling-pin of the cook, has grown thin in proportion as it has been extended. All the bulk of the centre has been ſqueezed towards the circumference, to form a border, which is deceptive with regard to its real ſtrength: theſe thickened borders will ſeparate from the centre, which will become unable to ſupport them. If we caſt our eyes on the map, we ſhall be ſurpriſed at the vaſt extent of that romantic empire, reaching from the banks of the Viſtula to the fartheſt end of Aſia, nay even to America, and from the bor-

ders

ders of the ſea of Aſia to Lapland. It comprifes almoſt a fourth of the inhabited continents. This ſuperficies reckons at moſt thirty millions of inhabitants; and theſe of twenty nations, differing in manners, language, and religion. And this immenſe territory is governed, from the centre of Peterſburg, might we not ſay from the midſt of the court of the palace, from the middle of a battalion drawn up in a ſquare, where five or ſix officers ſalute the emperor with their ſpontoons! To me the Ruſſian empire appears like that ſpider, which with a very ſmall body has long legs, that fall off at the leaſt obſtruction it meets in its gigantic march. Leſs than a Potemkin would ſuffice to occaſion this diſmemberment; but Ruſſia will not gain much by it *.

The

* From the turn affairs are taking, it is not hazarding too much to predict, that the firſt crack in this huge

The happieſt hope which Ruſſia can entertain, is that ſhe may one day ſee on the throne an emperor ſufficiently wiſe and great to give it laws, to which he himſelf will ſubmit; a prince of ſuch magnanimity, as to be aſhamed to reign inglorious over a people deſtitute of rights, and who may be capable of forming from the ſummit of his throne a gentle and eaſy deſcent, to arrive at freedom without a fall. This is what a true friend of Ruſſia and humanity ought to wiſh; this alone can now immortalize an emperor. Peter I. himſelf lamented, that he was only the deſpot of a nation of ſlaves. At an interview he had with the king of Pruſſia at Parienwerder, he openly

huge piece of paſte will take place on that ſide towards which it ſeems inclined ſtill to extend itſelf; I mean, towards Turkey; whether the Greeks, regenerate and emancipated, at length repel the barbarous Muſſulmen and Ruſſians; or the French make their way through the Helleſpont.

con-

congratulated him on the happineſs of being the king of a nation which he could govern by laws, while he could rule his only with the knout; and he promiſed to beſtow on it a milder government, as ſoon as it ſhould be ſufficiently civiliſed to be ſuſceptible of it *. This time is arrived: the Ruſſians are well worthy to be permitted by their ſovereign to riſe to the level of the leaſt enſlaved people in Europe. Reaſon and humanity would gain much, had they but a mild government; even were it ſtill abſolute, as that of Pruſ-

* This circumſtance was related by baron Pœllnitz, ear-witneſs of this converſation with the king. Another, which does no leſs honour to this great character, and which ſhows how much he was above the little imperial vanities of his pretended deſcendants, is, that, being ſurrounded by the Turkiſh army, and deſpairing of eſcape, he wrote to the ſenate, like a ſecond Alexander: "Chooſe for my ſucceſſor him who appears to you moſt worthy." The ſenate at that period was very different from that of the preſent day: in it was a Dolgoruky, who, like Sully, had the courage ſometimes to tear the edicts of the tzar.

ſia:

ſia: under this new ſyſtem the Ruſſians might ſtill figure a long time in hiſtory, and prepare themſelves for that grand revolution of the human mind, of which ſome think them already ſuſceptible. This can only be the laſt ſtep of civiliſation, and the return to ſimple and primitive ideas, after having revolved the immenſe circle of human errors and follies. Liberty and equality cannot conſtitute the happineſs of mankind, till the people ſhall be prejudiced only in favor of ſound principles of government: it is to be feared that Ruſſia is yet ages from prejudices of ſuch a nature.

Take heart, then, *ſtaroïvertzi* Ruſſians (Ruſſians of the old ſtamp), who have trembled at the progreſs of the French revolution; take heart all you, who ſtill dread its ſucceſs, and who tremble at a truth, as the guilty at a flaſh of lightning: the time is not yet come. Before you

arrive

arrive at that dreaded regeneration, you have ſtill to paſs through all the ſtages of civiliſation. A nation muſt be poliſhed before it can be informed; yours is yet in its infancy. Before it can dread democrats, demagogues, and jacobins*, it muſt have

* I know not what is now underſtood in France and Germany by this term Jacobin, which is become ſo dreaded and odious: but it may gratify my reader's curioſity, to inform him what it implies in Ruſſia, where it is as fatal to him to whom it is given, as that of Jew was formerly to an unfortunate Spaniard. The preſent political inquiſition has even more expeditious modes of proceeding, than the religious ever had.

A man, who can read and write, of whatever nation, is ſtrongly ſuſpected. If he be a Frenchman, he is undoubtedly a Jacobin.

Whoever reads the gazettes is a dangerous man: whoever talks of them, is a Jacobin.

He who ſeems to doubt that Suvarof, with fifty thouſand coſſacks will conquer France in one campaign—Jacobin.

He who dares ſay that the French are good ſoldiers, that they have any great generals, and that the Auſtrians have been ſometimes beaten—Jacobin.

He,

have had royalifts, ariftocrats, monarchifts: you have yet only flaves. Augment their

He who ventures to entertain any doubt whether Poland belongs to Ruffia, or whether it was allowable for the Poles to defend themfelves againft the Ruffians —Jacobin.

Every Ruffian gentleman, who dares to fay that a man may ftill continue for fome time a loyal fubject, though he ceafes to be a vile flave—Jacobin.

Every captain in the guards, and every Ruffian officer, who dares to murmur at his corporal's being made his commanding officer—Jacobin.

The man who imagines that the Ruffians fhould be treated like men, and no longer fold or bartered like cattle—Jacobin.

A young nobleman, whofe dancing-mafter has not taught him to make a bow fufficiently low, and who, when he kiffes the emperor's hand, and does it not as tenderly as if it were that of his miftrefs—Jacobin.

He whofe coachman, not knowing his tzarian majefty (who to be fure is eafy enough to be known), does not ftop his carriage, in order to alight, and proftrate himfelf in the fnow or in the mud—Jacobin.

In Catharine's days, he who wore a dark green coat, and large boots, was ftrongly fufpected by the favorites. Now, the wearer of a light green coat, and half boots, is odious to Paul.

Whoever

their chains, ſpill their blood, drink their ſweat in ſecurity; tear the infant from its mother's breaſt, to compel her to ſuckle your puppies, that have loſt theirs *: the day of retribution will not yet dawn on Ruſſia.

Do you fear a conſtitution? you have not yet laws. Do you dread a national aſſembly? you have not yet a parliament, not even a divan; for your ſenate is far from meriting ſuch a name. Are your laws, your religion, contained anywhere, but in the emperor's head? Are not your

Whoever is followed by a dog, wears a round hat, and has a waiſtcoat without ſleeves and flaps, is arreſted, and treated as a Jacobin.

This enumeration of particulars, which I could have enlarged, may appear perhaps to be an exaggeration: but it is too true, that any one of theſe charges might prove fatal to the man againſt whom it was brought, and that the ruin of ſeveral perſons has been owing to cauſes equally ridiculous, and not more reaſonable.

* An atrocity of this nature actually took place in Livonia.

ſouls

ſouls at his diſpoſal ? Is not your meanneſs his greatneſs ; and your nullity the cipher that marks his value ? Take heart ; your clock has not yet ſtruck the hour of liberty.

Before that hour, terrible to you, the ſun will long continue to riſe on the ſame crimes. You will ſtill change ſovereigns before you change your government : you will ſtill experience all the horrors of court revolutions, before you ſee popular ones.

In the end, however, this memorable epoch muſt arrive, in Ruſſia as elſewhere. The progreſs of liberty is like that of time ; ſlow, but ſure ; and ſome day will reach the north. Much has been written on the influence which climate muſt have on man ; and a political * philoſopher maintains, that it has a great deal on their

* Monteſquieu.

laws

laws and governments. With regard to ſecondary circumſtances, I believe it; but principles are everywhere the ſame. Climate cannot act on the morals of a people, but from the want of law and religion, which are their primary regulators, and which may be tranſplanted anywhere. I know well, that a deſert and uncultivated plain in Ruſſia will ſpontaneouſly produce ſome plants different from thoſe of a field left untilled in France; but if one be ploughed up like the other, and the ſame ſeed ſown in both, you will reap from them the ſame grain. Thus the influence of climates cannot perceptibly take place, except under the zones, where the human race has phyſically degenerated: and beſides, does not Ruſſia include at preſent all the climates of Europe? What, ſhall the Ruſſian, the deſcendant of the free and valiant Slavi, be condemned to perpetual ſlavery, while the Swede, ſtill farther north, boaſts his liberty? Shall Moſco,

under

under the ſame latitude with London, be for ever a barbarian city, a ſtranger to arts and laws? Under what climate then did the great Novogorod flouriſh ſo early as the eighth century,—that powerful, free, and commercial city, at a time when the people, who now boaſt moſt proudly of their liberty, ſtill crouched in ignorance beneath the feudal ſyſtem*? The Slavi†, who founded that republic, ſeem, like the Franks, to bear their deſtiny and character

* Alexander Neſſky, whom the Ruſſian monks have canoniſed as a ſaint and a hero, completed the deſtruction of this illuſtrious city by a general maſſacre of all its inhabitants. Far from uniting himſelf to the Novogorodians, who courageouſly threw off the yoke of the Tatars, he took upon himſelf the office of executioner of his own ſubjects to pleaſe theſe robbers, and deſtroyed the cities that refuſed to pay tribute to foreigners.

† *Slava*, in the Ruſſian language, ſignifies glory. The word *ſlavoï*, or *ſlavnoï*, which means *the glorious*, of which foreigners have made *ſlavi*, *ſlaves*, and *Sclavonians*, is ſtrangely disfigured. Other etymologiſts maintain,

racter imprinted on their immortal names. A thousand years have not been sufficient to efface the noble impression. All the Russians have not yet forgotten, that their fathers were more happy than themselves.

maintain, however, that all the Slavian or Sclavonian nations being known in Europe as subjugated, the appellation of *slave* was given in the west to the unfortunate beings who had lost their liberty like them, and that from these regions every species of servitude came into Europe.

CHAP. VII.

NATIONAL CHARACTER.

Of the noble, the courtier, the peasant, the artificer, and the soldier of Russia.

THE character of the Russian, it has been said, is to have no character at all, but to possess a wonderful capacity of assuming that of other nations. If this be understood of the higher class of Russians, there is much truth in the observation: but the same will equally apply to all people, who are but half polished; and even to the inhabitants of all great cities, whose physiognomies are confounded together as well as their manners, because they derive their institutions and food

from the ſame ſources, becauſe their blood is mixed, and their way of life is the ſame.

The noble Ruſſian, the only one to be ſeen in foreign countries, or well known in his own, has in fact a great aptitude for adopting the opinions, manners, cuſtoms, and languages of other nations. He can be as frivolous as a quondam French *petit-maître*, as muſically mad as an Italian, as reaſonable as a German, as ſingular as an Engliſhman, as mean as a ſlave, and as haughty as a republican. He will change his taſte and character as eaſily as the faſhion of his dreſs: ſurely, therefore, this ſuppleneſs of mind and ſenſes is a diſtinguiſhing feature.

This great pliability will not appear aſtoniſhing, if it be remembered, that the Ruſſians are a new people, on whom all nations have had more or leſs influence.

From

From foreigners they have received arts, ſciences, vices, and but few virtues. The genius of the government, and the particular character of the emperor, are imprinted on all the nation, as on one ſingle individual; and the Greek religion, an abſurd ſect of chriſtianity, has completed the alteration of its nature. It may be ſaid of the Ruſſian, that his government debaſes him, that his religion depraves him, and that his pretended civiliſation has corrupted him.

Thus the primitive character of this great nation can be traced only through all theſe vicious inſtitutions. A thouſand years under the dominion of *Varegues*, the *Tatars*, and its own tzars, have not been able to efface it: what then muſt this people have been, which even now diſplay ſo many excellent qualities! The Ruſſian peaſant, without property, without religion, without morals, without

honor,

honor, is hoſpitable, humane, willing to ſerve, gay, faithful, and brave: the farther you penetrate into the country remote from cities, the better you find him; the moſt ſavage is always the worthieſt man, the fartheſt from the capital is the neareſt to virtue; in a word, he has all thoſe innate qualities, which remind us of patriarchal manners; his vices are only adventitious. The remains of barbariſm, ſtill exhibited by the moſt enlightened part of the nation, preſents a diſguſting contraſt. This barbariſm is diſplayed in vulgarity of manners, an inſulting contempt of mankind in general, diſdain of inferiors, and ſervile fear of ſuperiors, indifference for everything tending to improvement, ignorance of the forms of ſociety, inſolent pride, baſeneſs, immodeſty, want of patriotiſm and public ſpirit, but above all, the want of that honor which ſometimes nearly anſwers the end of probity, and even of virtue. The half en-

lightened Ruſſian is the moſt abject of men; he crawls like the worm, which invites the foot of the oppreſſor to cruſh him.

This ſemi-barbarian is peculiarly fit for the trade of a courtier; for he is equally cruel, covetous, cowardly, and cunning: but, when ſpeaking of a Ruſſian, we muſt not affix to the word courtier thoſe ideas of urbanity, elegance of manners, and delicacy of mind, with which the courtier is embelliſhed in other countries. In Ruſſia, he who makes his way at court, particularly with the great, is frequently the moſt impudent and infamous of men, who is ready to offer his back to the king of the frogs, not lying in a marſh, but ſwayed by an arm as vigorous as that of Peter I. No man who thinks rightly, no young man of a noble mind or cultivated underſtanding, will pleaſe at court; and if his birth or circumſtances lead him thither,

he

he will be in diſgrace the moment he is found out.

In general the Ruſſians are fond of acquiring information, and have a reſpect for ſtrangers: ſuch only as are totally deſtitute of education hate foreigners, or are jealous of them, when they come into competition with them. One thing, leſs to their honor, likewiſe diſtinguiſhes the Ruſſians: this is a baſe and ſervile kind of politeneſs, which evaporates in fooliſh flattering compliments. Their cringing geſtures, and humble and ſubmiſſive countenance before their ſuperiors, remind you of their oriental ſlavery. They know not how to be polite without meanneſs, or to flatter without falſehood: but at this we cannot wonder; for, to be truly polite, a man muſt be truly a man of virtue, and not act, from conſtraint or intereſt, what ought to proceed from right feeling and a due ſenſe of decorum.

In

In Ruſſia the higher claſſes may be divided into two *caſts*, abſolutely differing in manners and opinions. They appear as beings of different centuries; and you would ſcarcely ſuppoſe them to be of the ſame nation, though they are frequently of the ſame family. The one are thoſe who reprobate all reform, inſtruction, and improvement: they would carry the nation back to a ſtate of barbariſm, and keep it apart from all the reſt of Europe: they conſider all civiliſation as perverſion, and deem Peter I. the corrupter, not the legiſlator, of his empire: they are made up of ſuperſtition, ignorance, and prejudice. The political *raſkolnikis* deteſt foreigners more than the Turks or Chineſe *: but they frequently poſſeſs native morals

* Nothing can equal the rudeneſs with which they ſometimes apoſtrophiſe foreigners. We have *bread*, they ſay, and you are forced to come to us, otherwiſe you would be ſtarved. Wretches, too barbarous to bluſh at the cauſes of that abundance of bread, which they

morals and virtues, and the exceſſes of the French revolution render their ſyſtem triumphant. The others, adopting the manners and cuſtoms of Europe, endeavour to keep pace with their contemporaries, and too often outdo them in corruption and abſurdity. They glory in deſpiſing, or being ignorant of the ancient cuſtoms of their own country: they have ſenſe, are ſociable, and poſſeſs knowledge and talents. Among theſe you will find amiable men and of great merit; but for the moſt part they have more politeneſs than honeſty, more depravity than information, more

they boaſt. Yes, a few thouſands of their fellows eat wheaten bread, becauſe thirty millions of ſlaves browze on herbs, and gnaw birch bark, on which they feed like the beavers, who ſurpaſs them in underſtanding. A few cities enjoy the pleaſures of life, and exhibit palaces, becauſe whole provinces lie deſolate, or contain only wretched hovels, in which you would expect to find bears rather than men. In the caves of robbers, too, you may find abundance, and the traveller who had loſt his way might experience hoſpitality.

vanity

vanity than pride. Theſe are at preſent out of favour at court; and the gleams of the French revolution have terrified ſeveral, who return with docility to the ſkirts of barbariſm.

Amid all theſe defects, the Ruſſian nation has remained exempt from three fatal errors, which have tainted the reſt of Europe with crimes and abuſes. The Ruſſians have never eſtabliſhed among them the falſe point of honor, of avenging the lie by a murder *: their hiſtory mentions

* The Ruſſians, as well as the Greeks and Romans, have ſhewn that a warrior may be brave without the madneſs of cutting his comrade's throat in a duel. The officer, who returns with his cane a blow you have given him with your hand, mounts to the aſſault the next inſtan as a hero. At the ſame time it is true, that, in a ſociety, where the affront of a box on the ear may be wiped out by knocking a man down, and where you may ſpit in the face of him who inſults you with his tongue, that politeneſs and ceremonious reſpect, which poliſhed nations practiſe, are not to be expected

mentions no war, no maſſacre, occaſioned by religious fanaticiſm *; and they have never conſidered birth as ſuperior to merit †. Hitherto in Ruſſia its nobles have not been eſteemed in the inverſe ratio of their factitious value, I mean, their antiquity: but what is there called nobility has an origin truly valuable and noble, that of liberty; a noble ſignifying only a man who is free and poſſeſſes land, as already obſerved.

expected: accordingly, the Ruſſian officers in general reſemble a band of footmen in uniform. A Ruſſian prince affirming ſomething to me "on the word of a "man of honor," I ſaid to him: "How can you "pledge me the word of another?" This repartee might have been addreſſed with propriety to moſt of them: but thoſe who have education are inferior to none in point of honor and politeneſs.

* The perſecution of the *raſkolnikis* by the liturgiſt Nicon is ſcarcely an exception.

† Paul is endeavouring to eſtabliſh a Gothic nobility, to make out genealogical trees, and to introduce heraldry, the only ſcience he allows to be cultivated.

Next

Next to drunkenneſs, the moſt prominent and common vice of the Ruſſians is theft. I doubt whether any people upon earth be more inclined naturally to appropriate to themſelves the property of others: from the firſt miniſter to the general officer, from the lacquey to the ſoldier, all are thieves, plunderers, and cheats. In Ruſſia theft does not inſpire that degrading contempt which ſtigmatizes a man with infamy, even among the loweſt of the populace. What the thief dreads moſt is the being obliged to return his booty, for he reckons a caning as nothing; and if detected in the fact, he cries with a grin: *Vinavat, goſpodin! vinavat:* "I have done wrong, ſir:" and returns what he had ſtolen, as if that were a ſufficient amends. This ſhameful vice, pervading all claſſes, ſcarcely incurs blame. It ſometimes happens, that your pocket is picked in apartments at court, to which none but perſons of quality and ſuperior officers are admitted, as if you were in a fair.

fair *. A ſtranger, who lodges with a Ruſſian, even a kniaz, will find to his coſt, that he muſt leave nothing on his dreſſing table or his writing deſk: it is even a Ruſſian maxim, that what is not locked up belongs to any one who will take it. The ſame quality has been falſely aſcribed to the Spartans: but an Engliſhman, who has publiſhed a book on the reſemblance between the Ruſſians and Greeks, after having proved, that they eat, ſing, and ſleep like them, has forgotten to add, that in ſtealing they are ſtill more expert.

Whence is it, that the Ruſſians are more addicted to theft than other half poliſhed nations? Is it becauſe ſtealing is leſs ſeverely puniſhed in Ruſſia than elſe-

* The king of Sweden, after the battle of the 9th of July 1790, invited a party of Ruſſian officers, who had been made priſoners, to dine with him. One of them ſtole a plate. The offended king then ordered them all to be diſtributed among the ſmall towns, where they never again ate off ſilver.

where?

where? No: it is owing to the immorality of the Greek ſect *, the want of laws and police,

* One proof, that it is their religion particularly, which leaves, or rather gives them this quality, is, that it is not common among the people of other religions who live under the Ruſſian government. The muſſulman Tatars are of tried fidelity; even the pagan Siberians are of exemplary good faith; and the Livonians, Eſthonians, and Fins, who are lutherans, are neither knaves nor thieves. The worſhip of images, however, has introduced one happy prejudice among the Ruſſians. He who would force open a ſtrong box without ſcruple, dares not break a ſeal. The following is a fact: Having one day given a young ſoldier, my ſervant, two rubles, for two letters, which I ordered him to carry to the poſt-office, I went out. On my return I diſcovered that my trunk had been broke open, and robbed of ten rubles in copper, which were in it: and I learned, that my ſoldier had been gaming with the couriers of the chancery, to whom he had loſt a great deal of money. He was ſought after by my orders, but in vain; and I announced him as a deſerter. Three days after he appeared, fell at my feet, and begged forgiveneſs, confeſſing, that he had ſtolen the ten rubles, and concealed himſelf in the depth of a wood, but hunger and repentance had brought him back. Inſtead of delivering him up as a thief and deſerter, I ſatisfied myſelf with ordering a non-commiſſioned officer to give him twenty blows with a cane. At this order, he fell at my feet again, and begged me with tears to puniſh him more

police, and more eſpecially the bad education of the nobles, who, from the cradle ſurrounded by ſlaves, imbibe from them the baſeneſs of their own ſentiments.

If you are more expoſed to pilfering in Ruſſia than in other countries, you are in leſs danger of being aſſaſſinated than even in England. I traverſed the vacant ſpaces of Peterſburg, and the deſerts of Ruſſia,

more ſeverely, that nothing might lie on his conſcience, he ſaid, for having robbed his maſter; that he deſerved a hundred blows at leaſt, and that he would have more if I ſent him to the regiment. He perſiſted in his entreaties to obtain this ſingular favour. Surpriſed at ſuch a requeſt, and moved by his penitence, I was far from granting it, but I ſaid to him, "Now you "have confeſſed the whole, tell me what you did with "the letters, as they were of importance."—"Sir, I "carried them to the poſt-office."—"What! would "you make me believe that you did not begin with "gaming away the two rubles I gave you, before you "broke open my trunk?"—"Ah! ſir, God forbid, "that I ſhould touch money belonging to anything "ſealed." In fact, after having loſt ruble after ruble of the money he had ſtolen, he had carried the letters and the money for them to the poſt-office, and I received the anſwers in due courſe.

with more ſecurity than the crowded ſtreets of London, or the well-frequented roads of France. Wherever I found a hut, I was ſure of meeting hoſpitality at the threſhold; and, if I wore a cockade in my hat, I was reſpected and even feared by the ill-diſpoſed.

If ſtealing and drunkenneſs be the moſt prominent vices of the Ruſſians, hoſpitality and courage are their moſt ſtriking qualifications.

From the extreme of wretchedneſs ſome good ariſes, as germs from the boſom of corruption. The countries where men are ſlaves or ſavages, are thinly peopled, even if they be fertile: hence in ſuch countries men are ſtrangers to want, and, if allowed ever ſo little of their time and ſtrength, can procure the neceſſaries of life in abundance. Having few wants, and their property being inſecure, they

live from hand to mouth, and freely beſtow what they have. A vaſſal readily ſhares his bread, his ſalt, and his hut with the traveller; and the noble is equally prompt to admit the ſtranger to partake of his table and his pleaſures *. Every year the Ruſſian or Livonian ſlave may ſet fire to a foreſt, and ſow the virgin earth, which will return him ten or fifteen fold: this ſlave employs for his own uſe only ſo much of his time and produce as is abſolutely neceſſary to prevent his dying with hunger or ſinking under fatigue; all the reſt is deſtined to augment the ſuperfluities of his lord †. Now in Ruſſia, where there

* In Ruſſia paraſites are not yet deſpiſed. The general, the rich merchant, every man in tolerably eaſy circumſtances, keeps a ſort of open houſe, ſo that his friends and acquaintance, officers in the army, and the crowd of young men and foreigners who have no houſe or home, daily find admiſſion to his table.

† Many Ruſſian and Livonian lords make their ſlaves work five days in the week: ſome even leave theſe

there are thirty thouſand ſlaves, there are not a hundred thouſand lords, who fatten on their ſweat and blood ; and theſe alone compoſe the *conſumers* of an immenſe and fertile empire. It is not ſurpriſing therefore, to ſee the Ruſſian lords diſplay a luxury and profuſion, which impoſe upon the people, and which you would ſeek in vain where good and ill are more equally diſtributed. Many of theſe great lords, it muſt be avowed, poſſeſs laudable qualities. They are in general more inclined to enjoy what they have, than to accu-

theſe poor creatures only the *day of reſt* to cultivate the ground that muſt feed their family. But I leave the taſk of exhibiting at large the inconceivable evils which the Ruſſians, and more eſpecially the wretched Livonians, ſuffer, to one of my friends, who is treating this ſubject and ſeveral others more minutely. Reckel (1) has lately rouſed the indignation of Germany itſelf, by drawing a picture of their condition. Never did the feudal ſyſtem, or the black code, preſent ſuch atrocities.

(1) Author of a German work, intitled The Lettonians.

mulate wealth: their riches are conſtantly renewing, like the race of men whence they flow, and frequently coſt them nothing to acquire. The munificence of their tzar, and peculation of every kind, are commonly their impure ſources: but they know that they may loſe them as eaſily as they were procured; and therefore they enjoy them while it is in their power. This ſome of them do ſo nobly, that they gain credit for virtue, or at leaſt for remorſe.

The genius of the Ruſſian people turns eagerly to commerce, for which it appears to be particularly calculated. When a peaſant can obtain a paſſport from his maſter *, he haſtens to quit his ungrateful

* For five and twenty rubles a year, a peaſant ſometimes obtains a paſſport, or licence, from his maſter, under favor of which he can exerciſe his ingenuity in the cities; but this tribute is increaſed in proportion to his induſtry.

fields,

fields, and apply to ſome trade, in hope of accumulating money enough to purchaſe his liberty: but in this he is frequently deceived *. The Ruſſian tradeſmen, for the moſt part ſlaves, and fettered beſides by the regulations of government, can ſeldom riſe to great ſpeculations, in ſpite of all their induſtry: they confine themſelves to inland traffic; and, inſtead of being merchants in their own country,

* The Ruſſian ſlave, when he has contrived to make a little purſe, cannot always offer it for his ranſom; for his maſter ſometimes appropriates his treaſure to his own uſe. Many of theſe ſlaves become very rich; but their maſter refuſes to ſell them their liberty, conſidering their capitals, and their induſtry, as his property, and as a laſt reſource for himſelf. There are maſters, who, after they have ruined themſelves by gambling, have ſearched the houſes of their ſlaves, to ſeize on all they could find in them. This plundering is one of the reaſons for which the peaſants frequently bury their money, and die before they have been able to diſcover it to their children.

they

they are merely factors for the Engliſh, and find themſelves obliged to be content, as the Jews in other countries, with the little profits of retail dealers and pedlars.

It is truly aſtoniſhing, to ſee how ſtrenuouſly Ruſſian politics tend to ruin the ſubjects of that empire. Theſe cannot carry on trade to advantage, but in proportion to the rivalry between foreign nations, that have need of the natural productions of their country: yet the cabinet of Peterſburg have ſhut all their ports to the competitors of England. The Engliſh are the ſole purveyors of Ruſſia, and the arbiters of the price of its produce, as well as of the value of its rubles, ſince they alone fix the rate of exchange. In ſhort, they carry on this trade to the ſame advantage as is done with all barbarous nations, the government of which ſells exclusive

exclusive privileges to some single company *.

Mirabeau

* Whatever the people in Russia may say, the balance of trade is always against them; the natural productions of that immense empire not being sufficient to pay for the foreign articles of luxury imported into the two capitals. One ship, laden with English hardware, is equal in value to thirty laden with iron, hemp, or timber. The English carry away leather, and bring back shoes; grain, for which they return beer, &c. The only nation with which Russia could carry on an immediate exchange of produce, is France, from which it might receive oil and wine; but these Russia chooses to purchase at the third or fourth hand, and pay double the price for them.

The Russians, seeing their corn disappear, and nothing but paper left, notwithstanding the great quantity of gold and silver they draw from Siberia, suppose it is carried away by the strangers who come to their country to seek their fortunes, follow arts or trades, or serve in the army. This, however, is a great mistake. Soldiers, or men of letters, seldom grow rich; and in Russia less than anywhere: the artist and the mechanic, too, more frequently meet poverty than wealth; and most of these strangers die or settle in the country. All who arrive bring at least a few ducats with them; and there is not one in twenty who goes away with any

Mirabeau has ſaid, that the Ruſſians are the moſt malleable of all people. A young peaſant, rough, ſavage, timid, torn from his hamlet, is metamorphoſed into an elegant and adroit footman, or a ſpruce and courageous ſoldier, in leſs than a month. His maſter makes him in a ſhort time his tailor, his muſician, or even his ſurgeon, or counſellor at law.

I had been told a hundred times, that the beſt way to teach them anything was by blows. I could not believe it; but I ſaw it was ſo. When a few hundred recruits are delivered to an officer to form a new battalion, the cloth and leather neceſſary for equipping them are given him at the ſame time. Having drawn the

property: if a calculation were made, the balance with reſpect to theſe would be in favor of Ruſſia. For a long time none but muſicians, milliners, pawnbrokers, and Engliſhmen, have enriched themſelves in Ruſſia.

poor

poor fellows up in a rank, he ſays to one, "You ſhall be tailor to the company;" to another, "You ſhall be ſhoemaker;" to a third, "You ſhall be muſician." If they grumble, they receive ſome ſtrokes with the cane, and a few bad implements are given them, to go and practiſe at their reſpective employments. The caning is repeated occaſionally; till they produce a boot or garment tolerably well made, and can play the march of the regiment. "But," ſaid I to a colonel, who boaſted of having thus formed the Moſco grenadiers, "among thoſe men there muſt "have been ſeveral who had exerciſed "in their own villages the trades you "wanted: why, inſtead of chooſing them "yourſelf, did you not interrogate them "on this head? he who could play on "the *balaleika* * would have made a good

* A ſort of lute with two ſtrings, on which the Ruſſian peaſants play.

"fifer;

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS...

" fifer; and he would have been the beſt " ſhoemaker, who had learned of himſelf " to make *lappis* *."—" O," replied he, " you are a ſtranger; you know nothing " of our Ruſſians: among all thoſe fel- " lows, there was not one who would " have confeſſed what he could do." Strange and melancholy truth! but it is not ſo with the Ruſſian alone; it is the ſame with the ſlave of every country; and always will be, where a man is obliged to exert his corporal and mental faculties by compulſion.

This ſpirit of mechanical obedience impoſed on the Ruſſians, has an unfortunate influence on all their imitative arts. They have a national muſic of their own invention, which is extraordinary, and bears the characteriſtic ſtamp of their enſlaved genius: it appears formed to be executed

* Shoes of linden bark, which the Ruſſians wear.

by

by a machine, rather than by men. About half a hundred muſicians, as they are called, have each a horn, differing in ſize in regular gradation, like the pipes of an organ: each of theſe horns gives but one tone, and each of the players has before him only one note, the greater or leſs length of which, and the longer or ſhorter intervals between its repetitions, form all the variation. Thus theſe muſicians, each repeating his own note, perform by common accord the ſimpleſt and even the moſt complicated airs. The bulk of theſe horns, and the purity and depth of their tones, render their concert ſublime; and its effect is particularly grand by night, and in the open fields. I doubt the poſſibility, however, of forming a band for this ſtrange muſic anywhere but in Ruſſia; as it would not be eaſy to muſter fifty men, who would conſent to dedicate their lives to the ſole purpoſe of ſounding one note on a horn, and wait whole

hours

hours meaſuring reſts, in expectation of the moment for ſounding this note, incapable of being moved by the air they are employed in playing, or by the art they profeſs. Nothing but an automaton, an organ-pipe, or a ſlave, can be brought to this exactneſs. The Greeks and Romans had ſlaves likewiſe, but they had liberal arts: in Ruſſia there are none; all the arts there are ſervile or foreign, and can be naturalized only with freedom.

Whether he exerciſe arts, guide the life-ſupporting plough, or handle the deſtructive muſket, the Ruſſian is fettered, and trembles under the laſh of a maſter: all the qualities of his mind are withered, and the tendereſt feelings of his heart are outraged *. How aſtoniſhing is it, that, with

* What has diſguſted me is, to ſee men with grey hair, and patriarchal beards, lying on their faces, with their breeches down, while they were flogged like children.

with theſe debaſed beings, torn by force from their families as a ſheep from the fold, and of whom the greater part die of grief and terrors before they reach the army, to which they are driven by the cane, Ruſſia ſhould have gained ſo many victories over her neighbours? Reaſons for ſuch apparent contradiction, however, may be aſſigned. The Ruſſian, who can ſupport the wretched life neceſſary to complete the education of a ſoldier, may be conſidered as an invulnerable, or at

children. Still more horrible! I bluſh to write it; there are maſters, who ſometimes force the ſon to inflict this puniſhment on his father: and, moſt abominable of all, there are ſons who comply with ſuch an inſult. Theſe and many other horrid actions are committed chiefly in the country, where the lords, in their caſtles, exercife the ſame authority over men as over animals. Even women are ſubjected to the moſt indelicate inſults. Theſe barbarities, however, become more rare, and inſpire the better kind of Ruſſians with as much horror as they do my readers: but they are ſtill committed, and atteſt to what a pitch of degradation the human ſpecies may be reduced.

leaſt.

leaſt inſenſible being, immerſed in the waters of the Styx. Scarcely one in three endures the trial, but he who does remains indefatigable, and hard as the iron that has repeatedly paſſed under the hammer. From the proud Ruſſian prince, who would devour a raw turnip or cucumber, after having gormandized on the moſt exquiſite diſhes at a ſumptuous table *, to the filthy Siberian, who feeds on ſtinking fiſh, all the Ruſſians ſeem to have iron conſtitutions, capable of ſupporting equally the extremes of heat and cold, of gluttony and abſtinence. The veteran ſoldiers are the hardeſt of men. Reeking from the vapour bath, they roll themſelves naked in the ſnow, and ſleep on a bed of ice. From the ſevereſt toil they paſs to the moſt in-

* Potemkin has often been ſeen to preſent himſelf in the midſt of his courtiers with his legs bare, and his hair about his ears, eating a raw carrot or turnip, when juſt come from the empreſs's table.

dolent repoſe; after the longeſt and moſt rigid abſtinence they gorge themſelves with food with impunity; and with a *ſoukare* (biſcuit) and an onion in their pocket, they will travel ſixty verſts a day, to follow Suvarof.

Laſſant la faim, la ſoif, et la fatigue,
Le ſoldat Ruſſe affronte les revers,
Brave la mort, et franchit les deſerts.
Fris et ſoumis, de ſoi-même prodigue,
Guider ſon bras, il détruit l'univers.

"The Ruſſian—hunger, thirſt, fatigue ſubdues,
"His foe acroſs each deſert wild purſues,
"Dares adverſe fortune, dares impending fate,
"And prodigal of life is bravely great.
"Humble, yet proud, his banners wide unfurl'd,
"Guide but his arm, he'll ſubjugate the world."

In ſhort, if, as it has long been imagined, to be a good ſoldier require nothing more than to be a very exact machine, the Ruſſian muſt certainly be the beſt in the world. His valour is ſo mechanical and ſo docile *, that he dreads the

* The Ruſſian ſoldier ſometimes gives very laughable proofs of this mechanical exactneſs. Peter I. had iſſued

the cane of his officer more than the cannon of the enemy: it may be ſaid of him, that he is afraid to be a coward. Contrary to what is ſeen in many other nations, the Ruſſian ſoldier is more intrepid than his officer. He has powerful incentives in his ferocious diſpoſition,—love of plunder, and deſperation. The officer wants theſe, and is often deſtitute of that ſenſe of honor, courage, and patriotiſm.

iſſued orders, that every man who went through the ſtreets without a lantern after ten o'clock at night, ſhould be ſtopped. A phyſician, returning from a viſit to a patient, was preceded by his ſervant with a lantern. The ſervant was ſuffered to paſs, but the phyſician, notwithſtanding all he could ſay, was conducted by the ſentry to the guard-houſe. In a battle with the Swedes, a galley was ſunk, on board of which were ſeveral officers of the guards. The commander of the next galley cried out to his men: "Save the officers of the "guards." One poor fellow ſinking held up his arm for aſſiſtance, and a ſoldier caught hold of it; but before he would pull him out, he aſked, "Are you an officer "of the guards?" The poor fellow being unable to anſwer, the ſoldier let him go, and he periſhed.

Catharine

Catharine ſubſtituted for theſe a bait of various recompenſes, of which ſhe was prodigal on all occaſions. Every officer preſent at an engagement* was promoted a ſtep: they, who were mentioned with honor by the general in his report, received croſſes, or gold-hilted ſwords; and they who were wounded, peaſants or penſions. I have ſeen officers, who, in one campaign had received two croſſes, a gold-hilted ſword, and two promotions. There is a wide difference, however, between the valor of theſe ſoldiers and that of thoſe warriors, whoſe heroic exploits

* The ſoldiers received a ſilver medal, and I have ſeen whole regiments, where none but the recruits juſt arrived were without them. The medal diſtributed to thoſe who were preſent at the expedition againſt Tſcheſme, or Clazomene, where the Turkiſh fleet was burned, has great ſublimity in the inſcription: *Bouil*, "I was there." Paul recompenſes his ſoldiers by giving permiſſion to a regiment, with whoſe ſervices he is ſatisfied, to uſe *the grenadier's march.*

were rewarded by a branch of oak, or the ſimple approbation of their country.

The Ruſſian ſoldier has retained ſome virtues, of which he frequently exhibits proofs amid the exceſſes in which he too often indulges; for, notwithſtanding the dread and horror which the peaſant feels for the life of a ſoldier, young men have been ſeen to caſt themſelves at the feet of the recruiting officers, and beg that they might be taken inſtead of a brother, about to be torn from his family *. The greatneſs

* I was much intereſted for a young man, who had come five hundred miles, to beg that he might be received into the regiment inſtead of his brother, who had a large family; and I ſpoke of it to the miniſter at war, relating the particulars of a ſacrifice, which in my opinion deſerved to be rewarded by ſetting the soldier at liberty, without detaining his generous brother. A relation of the miniſter, who was preſent, ſaid, "We "muſt diſmiſs all our ſoldiers, then; for I have ſeen "ſuch things as would aſtoniſh you a thouſand times."

This

greatneſs of ſuch a ſacrifice can only be properly eſtimated when we recollect that a Ruſſian ſoldier is inliſted not for a certain number of years, but for his whole life. Once dragged from his hut, and all that are dear to him, he muſt grow old under the ſevereſt diſcipline, if he do not fall by the ſword of the enemy. If he be married, ſcarcely will he have quitted his wife before his maſter may give her another *; and if he have children, he will never

This ſilenced me, not knowing which to admire moſt, the natural goodneſs of the Ruſſian ſlaves, or the hard-heartedneſs of their lords. This man had been taken by Pugatſhef, tied up in a bag, and was on the point of being thrown into the river, when a Ruſſian party delivered him.

* This is forbidden; but it is frequently done, that the maſter's income may not be diminiſhed: for he would be obliged to ſupport the wife and children; but by marrying her again, the ſame fields are cultivated by the huſband's ſucceſſor, who pays the ſame tribute. Frequently a lord marries a ſtout girl of twenty to a boy of ten or twelve, in order to eſtabliſh a freſh houſhold.

never behold them again *. He is loſt, dead to his family for ever.

You then ſee him giving proofs of courage and confidence in his generals, which ſerve him inſtead of patriotiſm †: ſo

houſhold. Sometimes a father of a numerous young family, finding his taſk too ſevere, ſolicits a ſtout wife for one of his boys, and ſupplies the place of a huſband to his daughter-in-law, till the child is grown up. Such diſorderly conduct is very common in the country.

* The ſoldier never obtains a furlough.

† At the ſiege of Otchakof, a piquet guard, going to an advanced poſt, met an officer in the trenches, who ſaid to them: "The Turks have made a ſally; the "poſt, to which you are going, is already in their "hands; turn back, or you will be cut to pieces."— "What is that to us?" anſwered one of the ſoldiers; "prince Dolgoruky is anſwerable for us." Notwithſtanding the officer's repreſentations, they went on, and returned no more.

At the attack which the Turks made upon Kimburg, Suvarof went out drunk, at the head of his garriſon,

ſo the well-trained dog diſplays from obedience the ſame courage, as the generous lion defending his life or liberty. In his bravery, native hilarity, gait, and cleanlineſs, the Ruſſian ſoldier is admirable. There are regiments, which, for theſe ſixty years, have been almoſt always in ſight of the enemy. Theſe continual combats have rendered the Ruſſians warlike; but the ſcenes at Otchakof, Iſmaïl, and Prague, and the devaſtations in unhappy Poland, have ſtamped their valour with the moſt ferocious barbarity. Yet

riſon, to repulſe the enemy. The Ruſſians gave way at the firſt charge, and ſeveral took to their heels. A ſoldier, enraged, ſtopped the fugitives with his bayonet, obliged them to turn back, and charged at their head, as if he had been their officer. Catharine, being informed of this action, which was the cauſe of the firſt victory in the laſt war, would have given him a commiſſion: but this he refuſed, ſaying that he could neither read nor write, and would rather be a good ſoldier than a bad officer. The empreſs then ſent him a gold medal, and conferred on him a penſion of three hundred rubles [30*l*.].

this

this was the character of the generals that commanded them, of Catharine who excited them, rather than their own. Yet amid that horde of ſavages which ſhe let looſe upon that wretched nation, by the ſide of the Suvarofs, Deniſofs, Kakoſſkies, and Kretſchetnikofs, whoſe names are even leſs barbarous than their characters, might be ſeen the Repnins, Gallitzins, Buchſhefdens, Ferſens, the young Tolſtoï, and ſeveral ſuperior officers, whoſe humanity and even urbanity formed a complete contraſt to the barbarity of their companions. The Ruſſians, who became ſo ferocious under the reign of Catharine, were much leſs ſo under that of the mild Elizabeth. Their memory is ſtill reſpected in Pruſſia: the conduct and diſcipline which they obſerved there during two years, were acknowledged with gratitude by the inhabitants. The irregular Coſſacs, the Baſhkirs, the Kirghiſes, and the Calmucs, who compoſe

their

their light troops, are the only barbarians without diſcipline.

The genius of Catharine required a nation ſo new, ſo malleable, and of which ſhe might ſay, as the ſtatuary in La Fontaine ſays of his block of marble: "Shall "I make of it a god, or a table?" Of the Ruſſian ſhe could not make a god, but ſhe might have made a man: her greateſt crime is the not having placed her glory in doing this *. By ſubmitting to the reign

* Catharine, the diſciple and idol of our philoſophers, the legiſlatreſs of the north, has riveted the chains of the unhappy Ruſſians. By what fatality is it, that ſhe, who in her youth was not afraid to have the queſtion diſcuſſed, whether it would not be proper to emancipate the peaſants, ſhould finiſh by reducing to ſimilar ſlavery thoſe provinces which had retained ſome franchiſes? Wiaſemſky, whom Momonof punningly called *Volterre* (the land ſtealer), with a ſingle ſtroke of the pen reduced the Coſſacs, Tatars, and Fins to the ſtate of ſlaves, in order to augment the capitation; notwithſtanding Catharine had acknowledged and guaranteed their rights! This Wiaſemſky, whoſe knavery

reign of Catharine and her twelve favorites, Ruſſia proved itſelf the moſt debaſed of nations.

Peter I. having employed a monk to tranſlate Puffendorf's Political Hiſtory of Europe into Ruſſian, the monk, from a ſentiment of mean and falſe delicacy, ſoftened all the expreſſions he found relating to ſlavery and Ruſſia: he even took the liberty to omit the chapter treating of the national character of the Muſcovites altogether. Peter, turning over the book, preſently diſcovered it, gave the monk a ſevere reprimand, and ordered him immediately to correct the whole of the tranſlation, and render it perfectly

knavery was equal to the ſtupidity of his ſucceſſor, was attorney-general and treaſurer of the empire; and, according to the Ruſſian expreſſion, was *the ſovereign's eye*. Count Panin, ſpeaking of him, ſaid to Catharine: "You have a purblind eye there:" to which ſhe anſwered: "For that reaſon I will have the ſenate "obey it."

faithful

faithful. This noble franknefs demands our efteem: but what will the reader fay, when he is informed, that, under the reign of Catharine, a new tranflation of Puffendorf appeared, with all thofe omiffions which the monk had formerly made?

Ruffia, brave, powerful, amiable, and hofpitable nation! where I found friends and protectors, forgive the franknefs of a ftranger, who ventures to depict you as you appeared to him; and who, if he had been fpeaking of his own countrymen, could not always have fpoken of them with praife. In painting your good qualities, I have difplayed your heart: in painting your vices, I have fhewn only the marks of your chains. May freedom efface them at fome future day!

CHAP. VIII.

RELIGION.

The Greek church—Priests—Festivals—Fasts—Images.

IT has often been made matter of reproach to religion, that her most zealous defenders are not always the best of men in their own characters—It is to be lamented that Russia in particular affords matter to support this sarcasm. There, a most illiterate or most degenerate sect, under the name of christians, relies on abstract points of doctrine instead of morals, miracles instead of reason, the performance of ceremonies instead of the practice

practice of virtue, and purchasing expiation for crimes instead of repentance or punishment. There, the devotee is assuredly a knave, and the hypocrite a villain. I have already asserted, that the principal cause of the vices of the people is the immorality of their religion; and he who considers, that in the Russian Greek church there are neither sermons, nor exhortations, nor catechism, will at once see the rectitude of my opinion. A sort of auricular confession, but very different from that of the catholics, is the only act which reminds the Russian of a few of his duties: but all the confessor enjoins him consists in fasting, repetition of litanies, and making the sign of the cross. The archbishop or metropolitan, indeed, sometimes preaches a sermon in the chapel belonging to the palace: but this sermon used to be nothing more than an oration to flatter Catharine, who heard it with downcast eyes, and kissed her

hand

hand to the preacher by way of acknowledgment. It is true, likewiſe, that Plato, archbiſhop of Moſco, who is really a man of merit, has compoſed ſome very ſenſible and eloquent homilies; and that he has enjoined the pariſh prieſts to make ſimilar ones, or at leaſt to read his on Sundays and feſtivals. But theſe country popes are not always capable even of doing the latter; the reſt are ſtill leſs equal to the former; and they who are able are negligent.

Beſide the fifty-two Sundays in the year, the Ruſſians celebrate ſixty-three feſtivals, twenty-five of which were dedicated to Catharine and her family*.

At

* Five of theſe feſtivals were excluſively in honor of Catharine: 1ſt, her birth-day, the 21ſt of April, old ſtyle; 2dly, her acceſſion to the throne, the 28th of June; 3dly, her coronation, the 22d of September; 4thly, her inoculation for the ſmall-pox, the 21ſt of

November;

At court theſe were days of *Te Deum*, or rather *Te Deam*, pomp, balls, diſtribution of favors, and feaſting: in the towns, of drunkenneſs and diſorder. In the country they might have been days of reſt for the wretched; but if their maſters did not ſend them to their uſual taſks after maſs, they dedicated thoſe moments to the haſty gathering in of their own harveſt: in this reſpect, however, the feſtivals were a benefit to them.

The moſt deſpicable and moſt deſpiſed of all perſons in Ruſſia are the prieſts. Many of them cannot even read; yet they are more deſpicable for their drunk-

November; and 5thly, her name-day, the 24th of the ſame month. For theſe ſolemn days each of her generals were anxious to ſend her the news of ſome important victory, which ſhe preferred to any other homage. It was neceſſary for the enemies of the Ruſſians to be particularly on their guard ſome days preceding theſe feſtivals, for they were ſure to be attacked.

enneſs

enneſs and intemperance than for their groſs ignorance. There are ſeminaries for their tuition, indeed; but it is not always neceſſary for a man to have been educated in them, in order to become a prieſt. A father bequeaths to his ſon his living, his church, and his flock: for this he wants nothing but the conſent of his lord, who eaſily obtains that of the biſhop. If the ſon be able, as his father was before him, to read a little in the Sclavonian language, ſay maſs, and chaunt veſpers, he is maſter of his trade, and follows it. He often gets drunk, and fights with his pariſhioners; who notwithſtanding kiſs his hand, and aſk his bleſſing, after they have given him a drubbing *. It is not uncom-

* On certain days in the year theſe popes make the tour of their pariſhes, demanding from hut to hut eggs, butter, flax, fowls, &c. On their return you might ſee them either lying dead drunk on the bottom of the cart among their ſtores, or merrily ſinging as they drove it along.

mon

mon in the ſtreets of Moſco and Peterſburg, to meet drunken prieſts and monks, reeling along, ſwearing, ſinging, and inſulting the paſſengers, male and female. One of the chief cauſes of the vices and ignorance of theſe Ruſſian prieſts, however, is to be aſcribed to the prohibition they are under to read any book except their breviary, to employ themſelves in any occupation, to do any work, or to play on any inſtrument of muſic.

The indecency with which theſe prieſts officiate, render the ceremonies extremely ridiculous, which would be much leſs ſo in themſelves *.

Many

* A Ruſſian general, having a child of one of his domeſtics baptized in his antichamber, conducted thither the company who had dined with him to amuſe them with the ſight. The prieſt having officiated with an eaſe and dignity which were not expected, the general applauded his performance by clapping, and crying, " Bravo!

Many lords have private chaplains in their own houſes, to ſay maſs: but they commonly live with the footmen, and are not admitted to their maſter's table. The condition of theſe prieſts, however, is free *.

" Bravo! Bravo!" Theſe Ruſſian baptiſms by immerſion are always extremely indelicate when the perſon is a Turk or a Calmuc of five and twenty. Their marriages, too, have many ridiculous ceremonies. I ſaw a lady, at the marriage of her waiting woman in her own private chapel, ſmartly ſcold her chaplain for not knowing theſe ceremonies, and take the direction and ordering of them upon herſelf. The bride on this occaſion was an Engliſh woman, and a clergyman of her own nation gave her away. His grave deportment formed a ſingular contraſt to that of the officiating pope.

* During the war with Sweden, as there was a preſſing want of men, ſeveral thouſands of prieſts' ſons were notwithſtanding taken away, and ſome battalions of artillery formed of them. Several of them had already commenced their ſacerdotal functions: yet they were dragged, like ſlaves, from their altars and their wives, to go and learn the management of great guns in general Meliſſino's camp.

The ſuperior clergy are more reſpectable, and certainly much more reſpected. Nothing can be more pompous than a ſolemn maſs celebrated by an archbiſhop, who is arrayed in his robes by his clergy in the midſt of the temple, as the grand prieſt formerly when ſacrificing in the temple of the gods *. Plato and Gabriel, arch-

* M. D'Artois, during his ſtay at Peterſburg, happened to be at ſuch a ceremony, when Catharine ſent an officer to him with the news that Dumourier had been defeated at Nerwinden. The Ruſſians imagined that it was his devotion to their St. Alexander which had procured him ſuch a happy meſſage, and the prince was willing to pay the archbiſhop a compliment on the occaſion; but he very unpolitely anſwered, that he had prayed only for true believers. Perhaps the reader will be ſurpriſed to hear that Catharine, who ſo much ridiculed the conſecrated ſword which the pope ſent to the Auſtrian general Daun, herſelf ordered a ſword to receive the benediction of the metropolitan of St. Alexander Neſſky, to make a preſent of it to M. D'Artois. Its hilt was of gold, ornamented with brilliants, and on the guard were theſe words: "God and the king:" it has not performed more miracles, however, than marſhal Daun's.

biſhops

biſhops of Moſco and Peterſburg, are men venerable for their character and conduct, and particularly for the pains they have taken to reform the manners of their brethren. M. Samburſky, chaplain to the grand-dukes, is a man who does honor to his cloth and country. He is the only Ruſſian prieſt to be ſeen without a beard. When he was in London, he obtained permiſſion, though with difficulty, to ſhave himſelf; and he has had the courage to perſevere in the practice ſince his return. But if he left his beard in England, he brought thence taſte and knowledge, from which his country may reap advantage. He applies himſelf to the improvement of agriculture in the environs of Tzarſko-ſelo, where he has cleared deſerts and drained marſhes, to form fertile fields or Engliſh gardens *. This is the only vengeance

* Thoſe of the grand-duke Alexander, of which he formed the plan, and was not unfrequently its executor.

geance he takes on his more bigoted brethren, for their contempt of one whom they consider as a heretic. He has obtained another dispensation equally extraordinary. His wife being dead, he is permitted to continue in the exercise of his clerical functions as a widower, which is contrary to the rules of the Greek hierarchy. According to these, a man cannot act as a parish priest without being married: and, as a priest can marry but

tor, were founded on a very ingenious thought. Catharine had written a tale for her grand-children, intitled, The Tzarovitch Chlore. The little Chlore undertakes a journey, to reach the top of a mountain, where blows a rose without a thorn, and gathers it after a thousand dangers and a thousand toils. M. Samburský has exhibited all the scenes and adventures of this tale in the field of nature. The centre of the garden is a mountain, on the summit of which stands the temple of the rose without thorns, and the path that leads to it presents all the instructive allegories which Catharine had invented for the young princes. An adopted son of the worthy Samburský has written a description of these gardens in verse, which the author of the present work has translated into French.

once,

once, if he loſe his wife he muſt ſhut himſelf up in a convent. For this reaſon the wives of the prieſts are the moſt tenderly treated, and the happieſt women in Ruſſia.

Is it to ignorance, one of the characteriſtics of the Ruſſian clergy, that we are to look for the cauſes of the happy exception their church offers in the annals of chriſtianity? Their diſputes and miſtaken zeal have not, as elſewhere, occaſioned wars, maſſacres, and perſecutions. If we except the violent acts of Peter I. to reform their beards and long garments; and thoſe of Nicon, to eſtabliſh his new liturgy; the Ruſſian hiſtory exhibits none of thoſe religious conteſts which have deluged the earth with blood. Archbiſhop Nicon was no doubt right in endeavouring to render the form of worſhip more pure and ſimple; but he was wrong in exhorting the tzar Alexis to employ violence. They who would not make the

ſign

MAHARAJA BEERDOBI'S SARASWA...

ſign of the croſs with three fingers, had their hand cut off: hence aroſe a ſchiſm. Theſe ſchiſmatics would not admit either the tranſlation of the ſacred books by Nicon, or his new litanies; and even now they would rather loſe their hand, than not make the ſign of the croſs with two fingers, as a ſymbol that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father alone. Theſe are called by others *raſkolnikis* *, but they ſtyle themſelves *ſtaroï-vertſi* (old believers). They were prohibited from celebrating worſhip in public, but they held private meetings, and under prince Potemkin they obtained permiſſion to build themſelves ſeveral churches. His plan was, to gain the ſupport of this powerful and fanatic ſect at ſome future period. There are ſome wealthy merchants and great lords who are attached to it, and it is widely diffuſed among the peaſants.

* Schiſmatics.

However,

However, the *raſkolnikis* are no longer perſecuted, and the Ruſſians in general diſplay the greateſt indifference about the faith of others.

The common people obſerve with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs the four grand lents which are enjoined them. Their ſuperſtition carries them ſo far, that they abſtain even from their wives or their ſnuff-boxes. The conſcience of a Ruſſian would not be ſo much affected by a theft or a murder, from which he might obtain abſolution, as by having eaten meat, milk, or an egg, during Lent. Linſeed oil, fiſh, herbs, roots, and muſhrooms, are then his ſole nouriſhment; and ſuch an abſtinence for ſix weeks reduces him to a ſkeleton. The rich have ſumptuous tables, well provided with fiſh and exquiſite fruits; and on ſome of them even fleſh is ſerved for ſtrangers or the ſick; but I have ſeen a devotee refuſe to touch

his fiſh-ſoup, becauſe he was helped with a ſpoon that had been in ſoup-gras. Theſe rigid faſts made ſome one ſay, that the Ruſſians knew not how to take heaven but by famine.

Every Ruſſian, beſide the conſecrated amulet he wears about his neck, which he receives at his baptiſm, and which he never after lays aſide, commonly carries in his pocket a figure of St. Nicholas, or ſome other patron ſaint, ſtamped on copper. This he carries with him everywhere as devoutly as Eneas did his lares and penates. It is frequently the only thing that a peaſant, or a ſoldier on his march, has about him: nothing can be more common than to ſee him occaſionally take this figure out of his pocket, ſpit upon it, and rub it with his hand to clean it; then place it oppoſite to him, and on a ſudden proſtrate himſelf, making the ſign of the croſs a thouſand times,

fetch

fetch a thouſand ſighs, and recite his *forty *goſpodi pomiloï!* "Lord have mercy "upon me!" Having finiſhed his prayer, he ſhuts his box, and returns the figure into his pocket.

A Ruſſian nobleman is a little more ceremonious. He alſo has an image attending him on his journies, but this is dreſſed in gold or ſilver; and when he arrives at a place where he means to ſtop, the firſt buſineſs of his ſervant is to take the image from its caſe, and place it in his maſter's room, before which he immediately proſtrates himſelf.

I knew a Ruſſian princeſs who had always a large ſilver crucifix following her in a ſeparate carriage, and which ſhe uſually placed in her bedchamber. When

* The number forty has ſomething ſacred in it among the Ruſſian clergy.

any-

anything fortunate had happened to her in the courſe of the day, and ſhe was ſatisfied with her admirers, ſhe had lighted candles placed about the crucifix, and ſaid to it, in a familiar ſtyle: "See, "now, as you have been very good to-day, "you ſhall be treated well; you ſhall have "candles all night; I will love you, I "will pray to you." If, on the contrary, anything occurred to vex this lady, ſhe had the candles put out, forbad her ſervants to pay any homage to the poor image, and loaded it with reproaches and revilings.

Even Catharine affected to have great devotion towards images. She was frequently ſeen to proſtrate herſelf before the door of her chapel, take up the duſt from the ground, and ſcatter it over the diamond crown on her head. Once an image of the virgin, covered with diamonds, of which the empreſs Elizabeth had

had made her a prefent at her confirmation, and which fhe had placed in this chapel, was ftolen away. All the officers of the police were fet in motion to difcover the perpetrator of fo daring a theft, but in vain. "Ah!" faid Catharine, "it is not the lofs of the diamonds, but "of the holy image, I regret: I would "give double its value to recover it." Her prayers were heard: after great fearch had been made, and feveral perfons had been imprifoned, the image was found in the courfe of a few days, ftripped of all its valuable ornaments, in the fnow near the admiralty. Catharine, delighted at her good fortune, rewarded him who brought it, directed the image to be arrayed more richly than before, and replaced with great ceremony on her altar.

The girls of the town, too, in Ruffia, are very devout. When they have a vifitor,

ſitor, before they grant him any favors, they always veil their images, and extinguiſh the candles placed before them.

I ſhall not particulariſe all the ſuperſtitions with which ſuch a religion, if it deſerves that name, muſt neceſſarily inſpire an ignorant and enſlaved people. It ſeems the preſent policy to thicken the cloud of errors, which the genius of Peter, the humanity of Elizabeth, and the philoſophy of Catharine ſought in ſome degree to attenuate*. While we pity

* Perhaps it will be matter of aſtoniſhment to the reader, to peruſe the following article, tranſlated from the imperial gazette of Peterſburg:

" *Peterſburg*, 17 *December* 1798.

" In 1796 a coffin was found at the convent of " Sumorin, in the city of Trotma, in the eparchy " of Vologda, containing a corpſe in the habit of a " monk. It had been interred in 1568, yet was in a ſtate " of perfect preſervation, as were alſo the garments. " From the letters embroidered on theſe, it was found " to be the body of the moſt venerable Feodoſe Su- " morin,

pity the ſtate of degradation under which a great people crouches, we ſhould do juſtice to the enlightened Ruſſians, by whom it is lamented: but they are enchained by prejudices, as the giant Gulli-ver

" morin, founder and ſuperior of the convent, and " who had been acknowledged as a ſaint during his " life for the miracles he had performed."

It is then ſtated, that the directing ſynod had made a very humble report on this occaſion to his imperial majeſty: after which follows the Emperor's ukaſe.

" We Paul, &c. having been certified, by a ſpecial " report of the moſt holy ſynod, of the diſcovery that " has been made in the convent of Spaſſo-Sumorin, " of the miraculous remains of the moſt venerable " Feodoſe; which miraculous remains diſtinguiſh " themſelves by the happy cure of all thoſe who have " recourſe to them with entire confidence; we take the " diſcovery of theſe holy remains as a viſible ſign that " the Lord has caſt his moſt gracious eye, in the " moſt diſtinguiſhed manner, on our reign: For this " reaſon we offer our fervent prayers, and our grati-" tude, to the Supreme Diſpenſer of all things, and " charge our moſt holy ſynod to announce this me-" morable diſcovery throughout all our empire, ac-" cording to the forms preſcribed by the holy church, " and

ver by the Lilliputians; his bonds were weak and imperceptible, as his enemies were minute, but every one of his hairs was ſeparately faſtened to the ground, and he was unable to raiſe his head.

" and by the holy fathers, &c. The 28th of Septem-
" ber 1798."

Paul has enriched the Ruſſian calendar with a few feſtivals, in addition to thoſe already mentioned: among others, thoſe of the diſintereſted ſaint, and of the Madonna of Kaſan, which he has ordered to be kept holy. Every child, too, that he has, gives riſe to two new feſtivals, his birth-day and his name-day: and Paul has nine children already!

CHAP. IX.

ON FEMALE GOVERNMENT.

Its influence on the women of Ruſſia. Their character—immodeſty—manners—baths—talents—charms.—The Princeſs Daſhkof.

RUSSIA offers an example truly ſingular in the annals of hiſtory. The ſame century has ſeen five or ſix women reign* deſpotically over an empire, where the women were before ſlaves to men who were themſelves enſlaved; where Peter I. was obliged to employ† force to

* Sophia, ſiſter to Peter I. Catharine I. Anne I. the regent Anne, Elizabeth, and Catharine II.

† Before Peter I. women did not appear at court or in company, or even at their huſband's tables. Peter

to raiſe them out of this barbarous ſtate of debaſement, and give them a place in ſociety; where even now the code of ſlavery does not allow them a ſoul*, or count them among human creatures. The reigns of theſe females afford a ſtrong argument in favor of thoſe nations, who have never ſuffered the ſceptre to be placed in hands that were formed for the diſtaff; for it would be difficult to find ſix reigns more prolific in wars, revolutions, crimes, diſorders, and cala-

Peter iſſued an ukaſe directing huſbands to let their wives appear in public, very wiſely deeming the ſociety of women neceſſary to civiliſe the nation: but he was often obliged to employ the officers of the police to conduct the ladies to the balls.

* In the Ruſſian language the word *ſoul* is employed to deſignate male ſlaves. Inſtead of aſking a man how much he has a year, the queſtion is, how many ſouls he has: and a man has frequently ten or twenty thouſand, without reckoning thoſe of the women or his own, which certainly ſome may think leaſt deſerves to be taken into the account.

mities

mities of every kind. That the manners of the court were ſoftened, I am ready to allow; but then they were corrupted; and wretchedneſs increaſed in equal proportion with luxury and diſorder. Abuſes of every kind, tyranny, and licentiouſneſs, became the very eſſence of government.

The old proverb, "when women hold "the ſceptre, men guide it," is falſe, or unmeaning. When women reign, their lovers tyrannize over the people, and all in power plunder them. But, without entering into the political effects of petticoat government, which may well be conſidered as the extreme of baſeneſs or extravagance in mankind*, I ſhall notice only

* From what contradiction have the offices of empreſs, and of queen, which require vigor both, of mind and body, and knowledge or talents of every kind, been ſo frequently given to women? An army of five hundred thouſand men were at the diſpoſal of Catharine,

only the influence it has had on ſociety and the female ſex in Ruſſia.

The exiſtence of the Amazons appeared to me no longer a fable, after I had ſeen the Ruſſian women. Had the ſucceſſion of empreſſes continued, we might perhaps have ſeen that nation of female warriors locally reproduced, and in the ſame clime where they formerly flouriſhed *. Great energy is ſtill obſervable

Catharine, yet ſhe would not entruſt another woman with a ſingle company! She directed the politics of Europe, and gave it peace or war; though a woman could not enjoy the moſt trifling office in it! Is there not great inconſiſtency in this conduct?

* It is ſingular enough, that in the ſame countries which were ſaid to have been inhabited by a ſociety of women, who proſcribed all men, a ſociety of *Zaporogue* Coſſacs has ſince dwelt, who would not ſuffer a ſingle woman among them, recruiting their force ſolely by carrying away youths from the neighbouring lands. This barbarous republic was deſtroyed by Potemkin, and they who compoſed it diſtributed in the different armies, or among the other Coſſacs.

in

in the women of the Sclavonian nations, of which their hiſtory furniſhes many proofs. That feminine activity, which love, tenderneſs, and domeſtic cares abſorb in other countries, the women of the north, who are born with more cold and robuſt conſtitutions, employ in ſearch of ſway and in political intrigue. They frequently experience a phyſical neceſſity of inſpiring love, but their hearts ſeldom feel a want of returning it.

Under the reign of Catharine the women had aſſumed a pre-eminence at court, which they carried with them into ſociety, and into their own houſes. The princeſs Daſhkof, that "Tomyris talking "French," maſculine in her taſtes, her gait, and her exploits, was ſtill more ſo in her titles and functions of *director* of the academy of ſciences, and *preſident* of the Ruſſian academy. It is well known that ſhe long ſolicited Catharine to appoint

her colonel of the guards ; a poſt in which ſhe would undoubtedly have acquitted herſelf better than moſt of thoſe by whom it was held. Catharine, however, had too much diſtruſt of one who boaſted that ſhe had ſeated her on the throne, to confide ſuch a place to her hands. One more female reign, and we might have ſeen a woman general of an army, or miniſter of ſtate.

Many Ruſſian generals, who enjoyed ſome reputation in foreign countries, were at that period governed by their wives. Count V. Pouſhkin, who commanded in Finland, durſt not make a movement till he had diſpatched a courier to his, to conſult her. Count Ivan Soltikof was as inferior to his wife in moral qualifications as in phyſical ſtrength, and the miniſter at war trembled before the wrath of his better half. The reader muſt not ſuppoſe that this ſubmiſſion, which became almoſt

general,

general, was that gallant and chivalrous deference which has ſometimes been paid to the ladies: thoſe whom I have cited as examples were old, ugly, and ill tempered: it was literally the ſubmiſſion of weakneſs to ſtrength, of cowardice to courage, of imbecility to underſtanding. All the ſex ſeemed to participate in the reſpect and fear which were paid to Catharine by her courtiers.

The ſame effects were frequently perceived at a diſtance from the court. The wives of ſeveral colonels received the reports of the regiment, gave orders to the officers, employed them in particular ſervices, diſmiſſed them, and ſometimes appointed them. Mrs. Mellin, *coloneleſs* of the regiment of Tobolſk, commanded it with a truly martial haughtineſs, received the reports at her toilette, and regulated the mounting guard at Narva, while her good-

good-natured hufband was employed elfe-where.

On the Swedes attempting to furprife the place, fhe came out of the tent in regimentals, and marched againft the enemy at the head of a battalion. Several women accompanied the army againft the Turks. Potemkin's feraglio was always compofed of handfome Amazons, who delighted in vifiting the fields of battle, and admiring the handfome corpfes of the Turks, as they lay ftretched on their backs, their fcymetars in their hands, and with an air of defiance ftill in their countenances, as the Argant of Taffo appeared to the gentle Herminia *.

* After the affault of Otchakof, heaps of dead bodies were piled up on the Liman, then frozen over, and remained there till the thaw. Round thefe pyramids the Ruffian ladies ufed to take the air in their fledges, to make their obfervations.

The

The mafculinenefs of the women is ftill more obfervable in the country. Something of this character no doubt may be remarked in all countries, where the men are flaves: for here widows, or daughters come of age, are often obliged to take on themfelves the government of their eftates, the people of which are their wealth, and are confidered as their property, like fo many cattle. In this cafe they are engaged in bufineffes by no means fuitable to their fex. To buy, fell, and exchange flaves, affign them their tafks, and order them to be ftripped and flogged, in their prefence, would be as repugnant to the feelings as to the modefty of a woman in a country where men are not degraded to the level of domeftic animals, and treated with the fame indifference *; but

* A French woman from St. Domingo informed me, that feveral Creolian ladies were not more fcrupulous than thofe of Ruffia. Some of them go themfelves

but theſe are offices which the Ruſſian women are often obliged to perform, and not unfrequently they perform them with pleaſure.

The habit of treating men thus, and that which both ſexes have of mixing together in their public baths, deaden, at a very early age, that modeſty which is natural to women, and I have ſeen ſome as bold as the moſt impudent men *.

This effrontery in ſome Ruſſian women muſt not be aſcribed to libertiniſm, or

ſelves on board the ſlave ſhips, to ſelect and purchaſe ſlaves, who are exhibited to them quite naked. A well made negro of twenty-five is called *un nègre toutes pièces*, " a negro at all points."

* Being once at the houſe of a lady in the country, ſhe was deſirous of amuſing herſelf with fiſhing. She ſent for nets, and ordered ſome of her ſervants to ſtrip and go into the water. They immediately ſtripped themſelves in the preſence of their miſtreſs, and ſhe gave them directions in their fiſhing with all the unconcern imaginable.

groſs

groſs licentiouſneſs. They live from their childhood in the greateſt familiarity with a herd of their ſlaves: a thouſand private and even ſecret ſervices are performed for them by male ſlaves, whom they ſcarcely conſider as men. Their domeſtic manners afford them daily opportunities of ſatisfying, and even anticipating, their curioſity reſpecting all the myſteries of nature, and ſtifling in the birth the irritability of their nerves. Only an equal can put them to the bluſh; to them a ſlave is not a being of the ſame ſpecies.

I have already mentioned the revolting manner in which men are treated in Ruſſia. A man's ſenſibility muſt be deadened, and his heart already hardened by ſpectacles of cruelty, for him to behold for a ſingle moment, without indignation and horror, the puniſhments ſometimes inflicted on ſlaves. But, it muſt be confeſſed, it is ſtill more revolting, to ſee

women preſent, and even preſiding at them, or ſometimes inflicting the puniſhments themſelves. I have been at tables, where, for ſome trifling fault, the maſter has coolly ordered a footman a hundred blows with a ſtick, as a mere matter of courſe; and he has been immediately conducted into the court, or into the antichamber only, in preſence of the ladies, married and unmarried, who continued to eat and laugh while they heard the cries of the poor fellow being cudgelled *.

I am

* The little reflection with which a man is ordered to be baſtinadoed produced a ſtrange blunder a few years ago. Count Bruce, governor-general of Peterſburg, had a ſlave for his cook, who ran away. At court he ſaw Kleïef, the maſter of the police, and gave him orders to make the neceſſary ſearch in order to recover his cook. This was done, but in vain. Juſt at this period a French cook arrived from Warſaw, who was come to ſeek employment in Ruſſia, and had been recommended to Kleïef by one of his friends in Poland. Kleïef, thinking to provide the man a place at

I am not the firſt perſon by whom it has been obſerved, that in Ruſſia the women are uſually more ſpiteful, more cruel, and more barbarous than the men: and it is becauſe they are ſtill much more ignorant and more ſuperſtitious. They ſcarcely ever travel, are taught very little, and do nothing. Surrounded by ſlaves, to gratify or prevent their wiſhes, the Ruſſian ladies ſpend their time loung-

at once, ſent him immediately to Bruce, telling the Frenchman, that he need only ſay he came from him. Accordingly count Bruce was informed by his ſervant, that a cook was come, ſent by the maſter of the police. "O," ſaid he, "my fellow is come, is he? Let him "have two hundred ſtripes immediately, and then con- "duct him to the kitchen." The ſervants of the governor immediately ſeized the poor devil, and conducted him to the riding houſe. There, in ſpite of his cries and proteſtations, he received the puniſhment ordered. His ſurpriſe and terror may eaſily be conceived. He was left half dead, and ſcarcely able to crawl to the ambaſſador, to whom he made his complaint. Bruce, informed of his miſtake, huſhed up the affair for a few hundred rubles, which he gave the unlucky French cook.

ing on a ſofa, or at a card table. They are very ſeldom ſeen with a book in their hands, ſtill ſeldomer with any kind of work, or attending to their domeſtic affairs. They, who have not been humaniſed by a foreign education, are ſtill actual barbarians. Among them you may find ſuch women as Juvenal deſcribes, where he mentions one, who, ſpeaking to a perſon that entreated her to ſpare a ſlave ſhe was ordering to be puniſhed, and conjured her to take pity on the man, anſwered: "Blockhead! is a ſlave a "man?" and another, that ſaid to ſome friends, who appeared frightened at ſome ſcreams they heard while ſhe was ſhewing them her jewels and trinkets, "It is "nothing at all, it is only a man I have "ordered to be flogged."

If there were ſuch women at Rome, what may be expected at Peterſburg and Moſco? Some horrible inſtances might

be

be mentioned, were they not too dreadful and too indelicate to detail—they are ſphinxes alſo, and proceeded from monſters in their kind; nor ought they even to be alluded to, but to ſhew how far the ferociouſneſs of a woman can carry her, when ſhe ſeems authorized by the cuſtoms of the country. Ought we to be ſurpriſed, if bad governments pervert the hearts of men, when they transform the gentler and more ſuſceptible ſex into raging beaſts? One who bears the title of princeſs, though ſhe deſerves not that of woman, by name K . . . . . . ky, exhibits a picture of crimes, rage, and turpitude, at which the reader would ſhudder.

The outrages which ſhe perpetrated on her ſlaves at Moſco, obliged the brother of this Tiſiphone to ſend her to Peterſburg, to ſave her from the vengeance of the people. He was at length compelled to forbid her to employ her own ſlaves as domeſtics,

and ſhe was fain to hire free perſons, who never ſtaid more than a day with her; and at length ſhe was attended wholly by ſoldiers, who were ſent to her houſe for the purpoſe.

This monſter of cruelty is forty years of age, immenſely tall, and of huge ſtature, reſembling one of thoſe ſphinxes found among the gigantic monuments of Egypt. She is ſtill living.

I knew another lady of the court, who had in her bedchamber a ſort of dark cage, in which ſhe kept a ſlave, who dreſſed her hair. She took him out herſelf every day, as you would take a comb out of its caſe, in order to dreſs her head, and immediately ſhut him up again, though ſeldom without his having had his ears boxed while ſhe was at her toilette. The poor fellow had a bit of bread, a pitcher of water, a little ſtool, and a chamberpot in

his

his box. He never ſaw day-light but while he was dreſſing the perriwig on the bald pate of his old keeper. This portable priſon was kept cloſe at her bed's head, and carried with her into the country. And her huſband permitted this abomination! How could he ſleep undiſturbed by the ſighs of the poor wretch, lying thus ſhut up by his ſide? He ſpent three whole years in this *gehenna*; and when he made his re-appearance he was frightful to look at, pale, bent, and withered like an old man. The chief motive of this ſtrange barbarity was the wiſh of the old baggage to conceal from the world that ſhe wore falſe hair: and for this ſhe ſequeſtered a man of eighteen from all human ſociety, that he might renovate in ſecret her faded charms. The faſting and ill treatment which ſhe made him endure beſides, were to puniſh him for having attempted to eſcape, and be-

cauſe,

caufe, in fpite of all his art and care, fhe grew every day more old and ugly.

Still I muft repeat, I do not mention thefe infamous acts, not more incredible than they are true, as general and characteriftic of the Ruffian ladies: they are the crimes of individuals; but thefe crimes could not have been committed, except in Ruffia. In any other country, the relations, the friends, the acquaintances of the furies by whom they were perpetrated, would not have looked upon them as fingularities of their humour; and the relations of the young man would have had a right to prefer a complaint againft his miftrefs, and to demand juftice *.

* During the reign of Elizabeth, a grandmother of thefe furies had already diftinguifhed herfelf by fimilar atrocities, and her relations were obliged to confine her.

It

It was not at the court and in domeſtic affairs only, that the women aſſumed a ſuperiority over the men. Nowhere did ſo many women arrogate to themſelves the right of making the firſt advances, and being the active party, in affairs of love. The example of Catharine was but too well calculated to give them thoſe bold and maſculine taſte and manners.

Almoſt all the ladies of the court kept men with the title and office of favorites: I do not ſay lovers, for that would imply ſentiment; while theirs was merely groſs deſire, or frequently a wiſh to follow the faſhion. This taſte was become as common as eating and drinking, or dancing and muſic. Tender intrigues were unknown, and ſtrong paſſions ſtill more rare*. Debauchery and ambition had baniſhed

* The young princeſs Shakofſky, who was married to count Aremberg, lately furniſhed a very tragical exception.

banifhed love. Marriage was merely an affociation, in which convenience alone was confidered: it was fortunate if friendfhip fometimes came unfought, to lighten the chains which the intereft of parents, or vanity alone, had formed.

The difcovery of a fociety, called the Club of Natural Philofophers, made a few years ago at Mofco, completely proves

exception. At the period of the revolution in Brabant, in which her hufband took an active part, Catharine ordered her to leave the feditious count, and return to Ruffia, under pain of confifcation of all her property. She returned, under the care of her old mother, and Catharine declared her marriage null. One of her coufins ran away with her to Mofco, to marry her there, that he might the more eafily obtain a difpenfation afterwards. However, he poffeffed not the heart of his young wife, or at leaft did not occupy it entirely. She loved an officer in the guards, of the name of Kamafoffky. The jealoufy of her hufband having traced her rendezvous, and complained of them, the princefs poifoned herfelf, and died in dreadful convulfions. Her hufband, a man of a melancholy caft, loft his reafon for a time, and his happinefs for ever.

† the

the depravity of taſtes and manners under the reign of Catharine. This was a kind of order ſurpaſſing in turpitude every thing related of the moſt immodeſt inſtitutions and myſteries. The men and women, who were initiated, aſſembled on certain days, to indulge promiſcuouſly in the moſt infamous debaucheries. Huſbands introduced their wives into this ſociety; and brothers, their ſiſters. The novices were not admitted, till they had been examined, and gone through their probations; the women being admitted by the men; the men, by the women. After a ſumptuous feaſt the company were paired by lot. When the French revolution took place, the Ruſſian police was directed to examine and diſſolve all kinds of orders and aſſemblies; and on this occaſion the Club of Natural Philoſophers was examined, and its members were obliged to diſcloſe its myſteries. As the members of both ſexes belonged

to the moſt wealthy and powerful families, and their aſſemblies had nothing to do with politics, nothing more was done than to ſhut up and prohibit their ſcandalous lodge.

Many accounts of the Ruſſian baths have been given; but, as they have a great influence on the character and manners of the women of the lower claſs in particular, it may not be amiſs to ſpeak of them here with this view. At my arrival in Ruſſia, one of my firſt objects was to examine them. I figured in my mind the voluptuous baths of Diana, and thought of nothing leſs than ſurpriſing the nymphs like another Acteon. Accordingly one day I deſcended the banks of the Neva with a friend, towards a public bath; but I had no occaſion to go far, before I was convinced that the Ruſſian belles were accuſtomed to expoſe their charms to the eye of the paſſenger. A

party of women of all ages, tempted by the heat of the month of June, had not thought it neceſſary to go ſo far as the precincts of the baths. They had ſtripped themſelves, and were ſwimming and ſporting near the banks of the river. This ſpectacle, to which I was not accuſtomed, made the moſt lively impreſſion on me; and I ſtopped, and leaned over the quay, without my preſence proving any interruption to the ſports of the bathers.

I have ſince been ſeveral times in the baths, and I have ſeen ſimilar ſights on the banks of the iſlands of the Neva*: but,

* On one of theſe occaſions, an old woman ſeeing ſome men of her acquaintance bathing a little way off, ſwam up to them, and began a conflict with one of them. The young man not being a ſwimmer, his antagoniſt had the advantage, and ſeizing him by the beard, ducked him repeatedly, to the great amuſement of both parties, as well as the ſpectators, who laughed

but, after what I have ſaid, more ample accounts are unneceſſary. It is true, there exiſts an ukaſe of Catharine, which enjoins the conductors of the public baths in the cities to conſtruct ſeparate baths for the two ſexes; and not to allow any men to enter into the women's bath, except the neceſſary attendants, or painters, and phyſicians, who come there to proſecute their ſtudies. Accordingly an amateur aſſumes one or other of theſe titles to obtain admiſſion. At Peterſburg both ſexes now have their ſweating rooms and baths ſeparated by a partition; but many old women ſtill prefer mixing with the men; and beſides, both men and women, after having taken the hot bath, run out perfectly naked to plunge toge-

laughed heartily at the ſcene. This tranſaction took place near a part of the ſhore, where perſons of all ages and ſexes were walking, and the young ladies in the neighbouring houſes might enjoy it from their windows.

ther

ther into the river that runs behind it. In the country, the baths are ſtill on the old footing; that is to ſay, perſons of all ages and both ſexes uſe them together, and a family conſiſting of a father of forty, a mother of thirty-five, a ſon of twenty, and a daughter of fifteen, appear together in a ſtate of innocence, and mutually rub down each other.

Theſe cuſtoms, which appear to us ſo ſhocking, and which are ſo to all people who wear clothes and are no longer ſavage, are yet by no means the effect of corrupt hearts, and do not indicate libertiniſm. It is not even theſe baths, ſo conducive to the health of the Ruſſians, that lead them into debauchery. On the contrary, the habit of ſeeing everything unveiled continually, and from an early age, deadens the ſenſes, and cools the imagination. A Ruſſian youth will never feel his blood boil, and his heart pal-

pitate,

pitate, at the idea of a riſing boſom. He never ſighs after ſecret charms, at which he ſcarcely dares to gueſs; for from his infancy he has ſeen and examined every thing. The Ruſſian maiden will never have her cheek overſpread with an involuntary bluſh at an indiſcreet idea or curioſity, and her huſband will have nothing new to ſhew or to teach her, nor will marriage have any novelty for her. Love is here a ſtranger to thoſe delicate and exquiſite approaches which conſtitute its true charms, and to thoſe preludes to pleaſure more delightful than pleaſure itſelf. Where poignant ſentiments do not ennoble the happieſt of human paſſions, it becomes a mere momentary impulſe, too eaſily gratified to be highly prized.

The land of ſlavery is not that of the noble paſſions; it would be difficult to find in it the materials for a romance. Yet

Yet the Ruſſian is ſenſible, gay, ſings and dances willingly, and the collection of popular ſongs bears witneſs, that he formerly felt the inſpiration of love. In theſe an exquiſite ſenſibility and affecting melancholy frequently appear, which intereſt and delight the reader *.

What I have ſaid of the Ruſſian ladies, among whom there are ſo many amiable and charming †, I fear, will tend to ex-

* If a change of circumſtances ſhould take place, and I can renew my acquaintance with ſome of the men of letters in Ruſſia, I ſhall ſome day make known a few pieces of this kind.

† Perhaps the unfortunate chance which gave me a cloſe view of the moſt malignant and contemptible of the ſex, has mixed ſome gall with my ink in ſpite of myſelf. It muſt be confeſſed, likewiſe, that the girls appear as reſerved and modeſt as the women do impudent. They are born ſuſceptible of the moſt profound and gentle ſentiments: it is with difficulty, that examples and the general corruption render them depraved.

cite

cite too unfavorable an idea of them. Almoſt all of them are naturally witty, and by no means deſtitute of grace; their eyes, feet, and hands, are everything that could be wiſhed; and there is an eaſe in their manners, a taſte in their dreſs, and charm in their converſation, which are peculiarly agreeable.

Theſe ſprightly and amiable Ruſſian ladies have taſte for the arts. They laugh at the repreſentation of a good comedy, readily perceive a ſatirical ſtroke, perfectly underſtand an equivoque, and applaud a brilliant line: but traits of ſentiment appear loſt on them, and I never ſaw one weep at a tragedy.

The domeſtic virtues, and that ſpirit of order and economy ſo neceſſary to a moderate fortune, are rarely to be found among the Ruſſian women. They would rather be the delight of ſociety, than ſuperintend

perintend their family affairs; and are more calculated to give pleafure to many, than to confer happinefs on one. But all the charms that luxury fets off, all the enchanting talents that eafe of circumftances affords opportunity of cultivating, commonly heighten the beauty of the young Ruffians. They particularly excel in fpeaking foreign languages, and there are feveral who fpeak three or four in equal perfection *.

Thofe who have had a good education, whom the manners of their families, and

* A Livonian lady, who has received a tolerable education, fpeaks German, which is her native language; Ruffian, with which fhe cannot difpenfe; and French, which is the language of fafhion: to thefe feveral add Italian, on account of mufic; and fome, Englifh. They fpeak, befides, the Livonian, or the Efthonian, which are the peculiar and original languages of their provinces. The Livonian women, however, are of a different character from the Ruffians.

the care of a prudent governeſs, or reſpectable mother, have formed to the graces, without moulding to vice; thoſe in particular, whom reading, or ſome travelling, has improved; deſerve one of the firſt places among the amiable women of Europe *. But theſe are flowers thinly ſown, and blooming in ſecret. Superſtition, envy, and calumny rage againſt them; and if they cannot ſupport the torture inflicted on them by the converſation of the goſſips of the place, they are obliged to form a circle of ſelect females, and eſpecially foreigners †, which redoubles

* I could eaſily mention ſome of theſe reſpectable women, as I have the deſpicable: but I ſhall not be blamed for ſparing the modeſty of thoſe, more than the impudence of theſe.

† M. Kapief has written a tolerable comedy, in which he has endeavoured to diſplay the ridiculouſneſs of theſe goſſips. The gaiety and maſk of Thalia herſelf were requiſite, to render what is moſt ſtupid and inſipid in life entertaining; but he dared not copy the originals with fidelity.

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the hatred and perſecution raiſed againſt them.

It will not be amiſs to finiſh this delineation of the Ruſſian women with ſome particulars of the princeſs Daſhkof, who of all the women of Ruſſia next to Catharine, has been moſt the ſubject of converſation, and whoſe portrait would form a proper companion for that of Potemkin, were it drawn by the hand of the ſame maſter *. I will neither refute nor repeat what has been ſaid a hundred times in print of this virago, the real heroine of the revolution of 1762. For ſome years the friendſhip between her and her royal miſtreſs had ſingularly altered, and the

* It may be found in a book intitled *Vie de Catharine II.* The author or compiler of this hiſtory, however, has been led into miſtakes reſpecting a number of facts and perſons. The princeſs Daſhkof was already in diſgrace, and had left Peterſburg, when he ſpeaks of her as ſtill there; and the outlines of the work are as falſe as they are improbable.

following

following is the true cauſe of the laſt quarrel, which was never made up.

In hopes of gaining a few rubles, in 1794, the princeſs directed a poſthumous tragedy of Kniaigenin * to be printed at the expenſe of the academy. At any other period no notice would have been taken of this piece, the merit of which was trifling. But from the time of the French revolution, and particularly after the death of Potemkin, Catharine had become fearful and ſuſpicious. This tragedy was mentioned to her as a ſuſpicious piece. It was prohibited; all the copies were ſeized, and ſearch actually made for thoſe that had been already ſold. As the work had been printed by the expreſs orders of Mrs. Preſident Daſhkof †, ſhe was ſent

* A Ruſſian author of conſiderable repute.

† The reader will pardon me this ſolecifm, which is employed in the Ruſſian. She was appointed by an ukaſe

ſent for by the empreſs. "Good God, "what have I done to you, that you "ſhould print ſuch an infamous and "dangerous work?" ſaid Catharine, with great emotion: "if it be ſo great "a crime to reign, was it not you who "made me guilty of it?" The princeſs, ſurpriſed at this pointed attack, ſaid in excuſe, that ſhe had no ill deſign, and had not even read the piece, having relied on the cenſor. To this Catharine ſharply replied, that in ſuch critical times people ſhould rely on no perſon, but do their duty themſelves. Madam Daſhkof, mortified at this reprimand, procured her nephew, Bakunin, to be vice-preſident, to ſupply her place, and aſked permiſſion to retire to Moſco, which was granted her. The

ukaſe preſident and director, in the maſculine gender, and ſhe was addreſſed by the title of *madame le preſident.*

censor

cenſor was puniſhed ; and it was happy for the author that he was dead *.

The princeſs had long rendered herſelf odious and contemptible by her ſordid avarice. This celebrated conſpirator, who boaſted of having given away a crown, ſent to all the officers or *aides-de-camp* of her acquaintance, to beg old epaulettes and old lace. To untwiſt and ſell theſe was become her chief employment; and perſons, who were intereſted in obtaining

* The ſcene of this piece, intitled *Vadimè*, is laid at Novgorod the Great, at that time a republic, but oppreſſed by the princes of Moſcovy, from whoſe yoke it was deſirous of emancipating itſelf. This Vadime is the hero of the ſtory ; and the following paſſages, which are all that I preſerved, are, I believe, the moſt alarming in the work. Vadime, conſpiring to reſtore liberty to his country, ſays :

" A king unites the weakneſſes of a man with the
" power of a God."

" To wear a crown is ſufficient ſoon to render a
" man corrupt and wicked."

her

her favor, began by ſending her old gold or ſilver lace. She made no fires in winter in the apartments of the academy, and yet expected that the academicians ſhould regularly attend the meetings. Many choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to her vulgar abuſe, and loſe their medals, than ſhiver in an ice-houſe: but the princeſs never failed to be there, muffled up in rich furs; and it was a ſingular ſpectacle to ſee this lady only, ſeated in the midſt of bearded popes and Ruſſian profeſſors, trembling and ſubmiſſive before her; for ſhe treated theſe academicians with a haughtineſs and even brutality worthy of Peter I. She took men of letters for ſoldiers, and the ſciences for ſlaves.

Her adventure with Gregory Razomofsky made all Peterſburgh laugh, and rendered her contemptible in the eyes of every man of ſenſe. She had ſent him an academician's diploma unſolicited.

 Some

Some time after ſhe diſpatched to him a bale of Ruſſian books, to the value of about 600 rubles (60*l.*). Razomofsky declined them, ſaying that he had the originals of theſe Ruſſian tranſlations already in his library *. The princeſs replied, that ſhe had created him an academician only on condition of his purchaſing theſe books; and in conſequence Razomofsky returned his diploma. The princeſs wiſhed to perſuade the world, that he was not in his ſenſes; but the ridicule fell upon herſelf. Thus ſhe proſtituted her academy: as to herſelf, ſhe had done that long before †.

What

* When I began to underſtand a little of the Ruſſian language, I wiſhed to read ſome of their original works: but I was aſtoniſhed to find, that what were given me for ſuch was frequently a tranſlation of ſome well known work, but which was never mentioned in the title page.

† One day having loſt thirty rubles at cards to S—, ſhe ſent him the next morning thirty of the academy's

almanacs

What rendered her completely ridiculous, both at court and in the city, was her lawſuit with Alexander Nariſhkin, who had an eſtate near hers. One day Nariſhkin's pigs got into the grounds of the princeſs, and devoured ſome of her cabbages. The heroine ordered them all to be maſſacred. Nariſhkin, ſeeing her at court, ſaid "There ſhe "is, ſtill red with the blood of ——* my "pigs."

Such was this celebrated woman, who prided herſelf on the ſhare which ſhe had in the revolution of 1762, who went to fiſty-cuffs with her landlady in Holland, who attempted to blow out the brains of the

almanacs by way of payment: I ſpeak here only of her ridiculous meanneſs: the turpitude of her manners would carry me too far.

* This marked pauſe brought to the hearer's mind Peter III. and the crimſon face of the princeſs was ſingularly ſuited to the expreſſion uſed.

poor abbé Chappe at Paris, whom German authors, on whom ſhe never beſtowed a farthing, treated in vain as a genius; and who at laſt became a laughing-ſtock to all Ruſſia.

CHAP. X.

EDUCATION.

Anecdotes of the education of the grand-dukes—their governors and preceptors—Education of the Ruſſians in general—Of the outſhiteli, *or tutors, their influence—Of the young Ruſſians—Proceedings of the preſent emperor unfriendly to civiliſation—The Gazettes—Radiſchef—Fable of the owl and glow-worm.*

CATHARINE compoſed a plan of education for her grand-children*, as ſhe had alſo inſtructions for the legiſlation of her people. This plan, compiled from

* This has never been printed. Catharine gave copies of it to the chief perſons employed in educating the

from Locke and Rouſſeau, as the inſtructions had been from Monteſquieu, Mably, and Beccaria, does honor to the empreſs's head; and had ſhe poſſeſſed no other merit than that of adopting the ideas and maxims contained in it, this would not have been ſmall. Had this plan been followed, Alexander and Conſtantine Pavlovitch would certainly have been the beſt educated princes in Europe. But it happened to Catharine's plan of education, as it did to the inſtructions for her code. The compiling of the laws ended, as has been obſerved, with being abandoned to the management of a committee, which happily never aſſembled; and the education of the young princes was entruſted to people, ſcarcely capable of reading the plan, the letter of which they were to follow, and the ſpirit of which they were

the princes, by which to regulate their mode of tuition. It was drawn up in the form of inſtructions, and addreſſed to count Nicholas Soltikof.

to

to ſtudy *. The only rule they appeared to comprehend was the following, probably becauſe it was negative. "The "grand-dukes are to be taught neither "poetry nor muſic; becauſe it would "occupy too much of their time to attain "excellence in either." This rule they took pains to extend to all the ſciences †. It

* In the badneſs of her choice here Catharine reſembled Peter I. That illuſtrious inſtructor of his people was a very bad one for his only ſon. After having allowed him to ſpend his infancy with monks, prieſts, and ſervants, he gave him for a governor Mentchikof, who, it is notorious, was never able to read. It is true, that he appointed for his ſub-governor a Dutchman, a man of knowledge, but who ſoon experienced the ſame fate as la Harpe, the tutor to the grand-duke Alexander.

† This has certainly the leaſt merit of any rule in the inſtructions. Not that a prince ſhould be made a fidler, or a poet; but it is impoſſible to give him too much taſte for thoſe arts which inſpire and cheriſh ſenſibility of mind. The accurate ſciences, which are ſaid to render the judgment more exact, deaden the feelings. Hiſtory is the proper ſtudy of princes and regents.

It was the intention of Catharine, however, that her grandchildren ſhould be inſtructed in every ſcience capable of enlightening their reaſon or adorning their minds. A man of ſuperior talents, la Harpe, was choſen for their firſt preceptor. He had inceſſantly to ſtrive againſt the intereſted flattery and baſe adulation which ſurrounded them from the cradle. The ill will and ineptitude of the chief perſons concerned in their education were a ſtill greater reſtraint upon him. But the eſteem and confidence with which he was honored by Catharine, gave him encouragement; and the idea, that he was

gents. Without the belles lettres, Frederic the Great would have been nothing but a tyrant: with them Peter I. would have ceaſed to be a ferocious barbarian. God preſerve all monarchies from having geometricians or mathematicians for their kings: they meaſure men by the yard, and reckon them as they would their money. The moſt important matter is, to be humane, good, and juſt; but with that juſtice, which ariſes from a ſenſe of truth, not that, which is proved by $a+b$.

rendering

rendering an important ſervice to humanity, by inſtilling uſeful truths into the minds of princes called to decide the fate of ſo many millions, afforded him ſupport. Inflexible in his courſe, he rendered himſelf beloved by one of his pupils, feared by the other, reſpected by thoſe under him, and eſteemed by his ſuperiors. He was ſeconded by ſome of the cavaliers of honor that were appointed them *: and at ſome future period, perhaps, Ruſſia will be more indebted to la Harpe, than to his countryman le Fort; for, if Peter I. reformed and civiliſed his people, Alexander gives hopes of rendering them ſome day more free and happy.

The frankneſs with which la Harpe profeſſed republican ſentiments in Ruſſia,

* Particularly the two *Morawiefs*, who cultivated literature, and poſſeſſed conſiderable merit and talents, and one *Tutulmin*, a man of ſenſe and good breeding.

expoſed

expofed him to the fhafts of the envious. The Bernefe, having feized his letters to his coufin, general la Harpe, fent them to Catharine. The Prince of Naffau and Efterhazy, whofe wife is a native of Berne, were his accufers, and endeavoured to reprefent him as a very dangerous man in the confidential poft he occupied. Catharine fent for him into her clofet; the following are the particulars of the interview:

Catharine. Come, fit down, Mr. Jacobin; I have fomething to fay to you.

La Harpe. I muft proteft againft the title which your majefty thinks proper to give me, and know not how I have deferved it.

The emprefs then fhewed him the letters fhe had received, and informed him of the charges brought againft him.

To

To this la Harpe replied nearly in the following words: Your majeſty knew, previous to entruſting me with the education of the grand-dukes, that I was a Swiſs, and conſequently a republican. I have not changed my ſentiments; and you are too juſt, madam, to conſider that as a crime in me now, which did not appear ſo then. My countrymen are oppreſſed by the Berneſe; I exhort them to claim, by legal modes, our antient rights: this is not being factious. For the reſt, madam, I admire your great qualities, I reſpect your government, and I faithfully diſcharge the duties I impoſed upon myſelf, when I devoted myſelf to the education of the grand-dukes. I ſhall always endeavour to render myſelf worthy of the confidence with which you have honored me, by inſpiring them with ſentiments ſuitable to their birth and condition, and by endeavoring to render them capable of imitating, ſome future day, the example you have ſet before them. This, madam,

is my defence: it remains with your majeſty to paſs judgment on me, after examining into my conduct in the poſt with which you have deigned to entruſt me.

Catharine, ſtruck with this frankneſs, replied: "Sir, be a jacobin, a republican, "or what you pleaſe: I believe you are "an honeſt man, and that is ſufficient "for me. Stay with my grandchildren, "retain my perfect confidence, and in- "ſtruct them with your wonted zeal*."

Such was Catharine. Her conduct as well as that of la Harpe will be better appreciated, when it is conſidered, that this happened at the very period when the Auſtrians were flying before Dumouriez, ſoon after the death of Lewis XVI. when Guſtavus was dying

* It was in a ſimilar converſation, that la Harpe one day made Catharine ſenſible of the danger of ſending a Ruſſian army againſt the French.

from

from the wound inflicted by the aſſaſſin Ankerſtrœm, when Leopold was ſaid to have been taken off by poiſon, and when every king in Europe trembled on his throne. His accuſers, however, though rebuffed, were not ſilenced; but the marriage of the grand-duke Alexander, putting an end to the term of his education, la Harpe took his leave.

Nicholas Soltikof I have mentioned in another place. Chief governor of the young princes, his principal occupations were to defend them from currents of air, and keep their bodies open. Protaſof, the governor of the elder, would have been more in his place had he been named apothecary. He came every day to make a circumſtantial report to Soltikof of the moſt inſipid particulars. Though a man of a narrow underſtanding, bigoted, and puſillanimous, he had not a bad heart; but he rendered himſelf ridiculous

culous in the eyes of every one, except his pupil; who ſaw in him nothing but his attachment to himſelf, for which he expreſſed his gratitude.

M. von Sacken was governor of the younger prince, after having been preceptor to Paul. He was ſuperior in every reſpect to his colleague; but his eaſy and complying character rendered him the ſport of his pupil*, whoſe petulance and want of application, as well as his unconquerable obſtinacy, required a man of firmneſs conſtantly about him, and la Harpe alone retained ſome power over him, and might have been able to

* Sacken was inceſſantly preaching to the prince, and exhorting him to read. "I won't read," ſaid Conſtantine to him one day, "for I ſee you always "reading, and you only prove the greater blockhead "for it." This ſarcaſm produced a laugh. He would ſtrike and bite his governors, his chevaliers, and his maſters. La Harpe was the only perſon who complained, and requeſted he might be corrected.

bend

bend his natural ferocity, had he been ſe-conded.

Among the maſters of the grand-dukes, profeſſor Kraft, who gave them leſſons in experimental philoſophy, was diſtinguiſhed for his good-nature, perſpicuity, and immoveable methodicalneſs. Alexander Pavlovitch made ſome progreſs in this ſcience; being attentive, and deſirous of learning, as he was in all his ſtudies. Kraft, ſpeaking one day of the hypotheſes of ſome philoſophers on the nature of light, ſaid, that Newton ſuppoſed it to be a conſtant emanation from the ſun. Alexander, then twelve years of age, anſwered: " I do not believe it: for, " if it were, the ſun muſt grow leſs every " day." This objection, made with equal ſimplicity and acuteneſs, is in fact the ſtrongeſt that has been brought againſt the immortal Newton, and proves the early ſagacity of the young grand-duke.

The

NJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWAT

The celebrated Pallas was giving the princes a ſhort courſe of botany in their garden near Pavloſſky: but the explanation of Linnæus's ſyſtem of the ſexes gave them the firſt ideas of thoſe of human nature, and led them to put a number of very laughable queſtions with great ſimplicity. This highly alarmed their governors; Pallas was requeſted to avoid entering into further particulars; and the courſe of botany was even broken off. Catharine had particularly enjoined, that her pupils ſhould be kept in the moſt perfect ignorance, in what related to the intercourſe of the ſexes. Her great modeſty in this reſpect appears ſtrikingly contraſted with other parts of her character. But it is well known, that the regent of France, who was the moſt debauched of men, cauſed Lewis XV. to be brought up in ſuch complete ignorance of things, which he afterwards ſo extenſively practiſed, that on the eve of his marriage, he was obliged

obliged to be taught his part, by being ſhewn prints in which it was diſplayed. Catharine thought it better, that her grandchildren ſhould receive their firſt leſſons in nature. At leaſt, a lady of the name of T.....kof was choſen to initiate the grand-duke Conſtantine; from which ſhe reaped the pleaſure, as her huſband did honor and promotion.

'One of Catharine's moſt ardent wiſhes was, to ſee her great grandchildren like Lewis XIV. That a moment might not be loſt, ſhe ordered the inſtant of their puberty to be watched; but her hope was fruſtrated by the very impatience with which ſhe ſought its accompliſhment. Theſe premature marriages appear only to have ruined their conſtitutions. Neither of the young princes have as yet had any children, and it is to be feared they never will*.

* Their marriages have been mentioned in the firſt chapter.

The birth of the two grand-dukes had filled the empreſs with joy. Her vaſt projects and hopes expatiated in a wider field, of which the very names of the princes gave intimation. She had the infants everywhere painted, one cutting the gordian knot, the other bearing the croſs of Conſtantine; for them ſhe was deſirous of renewing the diviſion of the world into two empires. Their education ſeemed at firſt to be merely the developement of theſe grand ideas. Conſtantine had Grecian nurſes, and was ſurrounded by Greeks: in his infancy he ſpoke no other language, but he forgot it, as ſoon as maſters were appointed to teach it him in a better manner. The perſons about Alexander were Engliſhmen, and endeavours were made to inſpire him with a predilection for that nation, which he may, perhaps, ſome day diſcard, as his brother became diſguſted with Greece.

I have already obſerved, that Paul had neither authority nor influence over the education of his children. He was obliged to ſolicit Soltikof's permiſſion to ſee them; or to gain their valets-de-chambre, to know what was doing with reſpect to them. During the ſummer they had permiſſion to ſpend an hour or two with their parents once or twice a week. Paul deprived himſelf of this pleaſure for one whole year, becauſe he would not ſee the counteſs Shuvalof by whom they were latterly attended.

The Ruſſians in general, following the example of their latter ſovereigns, had for ſome time endeavoured to emerge from barbariſm, and attended to the education of their children with much care. To beſtow on them knowledge and talents, was formerly the happy means of bringing them into notice, and procuring them advancement. They ſpared neither

pains nor expenſe to cultivate the arts and ſciences in a country where theſe were ſtrangers, as they force fruits to ripen in their winter gardens and hot-houſes. Elizabeth and Catharine founded ſeveral inſtitutions in favor of youth, ſome of which, as the normal ſchools and particularly the three different corps of cadets, preſented the intereſting ſight of ſeveral thouſand young men educated at the expenſe of the ſtate, and taught morality, languages, ſciences, and arts. Thoſe are now either aboliſhed or ſuffered to fall to decay.

The convent of young ladies, though the ſentiments from which it was founded were worthy of the generoſity of a great princeſs, has completely failed of its end, like moſt of the other inſtitutions. Two or three hundred young women of no fortune receive here an excellent education; but, as ſoon as they reach the age of eighteen,

eighteen, they are turned out of doors. They enter into a world from which they have lived ſecluded ſince their infancy; ſeldom find either relations, or any who know them; and are ignorant whither to turn. In conſequence they fall victims to the officers of the guards, whoſe barracks ſurround the convent, and who watch every term of diſmiſſion to enſnare the pretrieſt. It would be very practicable to ſave, out of the immenſe coſt of their education, a ſufficient ſum to portion them, or at leaſt to keep them till they were provided for.

The education of thoſe young Ruſſians, who have ſome fortune, is commonly entruſted to private governors, known and decried in Ruſſia by the name of *outſhiteli*, "teachers." Moſt of them are foreigners, chiefly French or Swiſs. The Germans, in ſpite of their good qualities and pedagogical erudition, differ too widely in

character

character from the Russians, to rival them; and the trials which some have wished to make of their own countrymen from the university of Mosco, or from the schools of Petersburg, have not given satisfaction. The famous answer of the Grecian philosopher is here applicable. To a man, who said to him: "With what you ask "for the education of my son I could "purchase a good slave, who would edu-"cate him in my own house;" he replied: "Purchase a slave: he and your "son will make two."

The *outshiteli*, whom some endeavour to ridicule, and others consider as dangerous, have contributed more than any others to polish Russia, as they have given instruction in detail, man by man. They are the only people whose office has been to preach philosophy, virtue, and morals, while diffusing knowledge. To begin with the celebrated le Fort, who inspired

Peter

Peter I. with the desire of gaining knowledge, and end with a petty clerk of some French attorney, who teaches his pupils to conjugate a few verbs in his own tongue, the *outshiteli* have been the persons who have communicated to the Russians that taste, those acquirements, and those talents, for which many of them are admired in foreign countries. No doubt it is to be lamented, that among the number of those who devote themselves to private tuition, and make it their trade to form men, there are so many unworthy of the employment, whose ignorance and immorality bring ridicule and odium on their colleagues. But such tutors begin to find it difficult to obtain situations, except in remote country places, where some honest Russians of the old stamp fancy they have bestowed a good education on their children, when they hear them speak a foreign language. At Petersburg people were become more difficult in the

choice of tutors, and among them were to be found persons of real merit. They were the only class of men in Russia, without excepting the academicians, who cultivated literature and the sciences, which they did in some degree. A Brueckner, in the house of prince Kurakin; a Grammont, at the princess Dolgoruka's; a Lindqwist, an abbé Nicole, and several others, without having places equally advantageous *, were worthy of the profession to which they devoted themselves, and were distinguished for their success as much as for their merit.

The great men of Russia, who have much wealth and high posts, are too ignorant, or too much engaged in gaming

* Mr. Brueckner received thirty-five thousand rubles (3500*l.*) for the fourteen years he engaged to devote to the education of the young princes Kurakin; and Grammont received twenty-five thousand (2500*l.*) for the education of the princes Dolgoruky.

and

and intrigue, to interfere with the education of their children; and as colleges and universities are wanting in that country, they pursue a very prudent plan. As soon as they have made choice of the man who is to supply their place in the duties of a father, they confer on him great power and confidence: the most intelligent could not do better, were they discerning in their choice. It is seldom that a governor is so destitute of sense, information, and honor, as to abuse his functions; he feels himself most happily disposed towards his pupil: to instruct him, form him, acquire his attachment, and gain his love, are the wishes of his heart. If he be in a worthy, opulent house, he has no occasion to regret the sacrifice of ten or twelve years of his life, as he will be provided for*. In his pupil he

* The great French lords sometimes gave rich abbeys to their tutors: the wealthy English act still

he often finds a real friend, and always a protector. His own intereſt prompts him to inſpire his pupil with juſt and noble ſentiments, and to give him a taſte for the ſciences; which is far more important, and far more difficult, than to teach him the elements of them. Thus, moſt of the young Ruſſians paſs their early days with a foreigner, who becomes their ſecond father, and for whom they retain a due ſenſe of gratitude, if they are in the leaſt well born.

This education by means of foreigners has one peculiar effect. Almoſt all the Ruſſians, being educated by Frenchmen, contract from their infancy a decided predilection for France. With its language

ſtill more generouſly. The Ruſſians frequently follow their example: their governors receive annuities at their departure, or places and rank if they ſettle in Ruſſia. Thus at leaſt thoſe have acted who have not conſidered the tutors of their children as their head ſervants.

and

and hiſtory they are better acquainted than with their own; and as, in fact, they have no country, France becomes that of their heart and imagination. Such was the Scythian Anacharſis educated by Theogenes the Greek: ſuch were the Romans formed by Grecian maſters; but the Romans had virtues to loſe, which is ſcarcely the caſe with the Ruſſians. Beſides, they learn to know France only in the moſt pleaſing aſpect, as it appears when at a diſtance. They are taught to conſider it as the country of taſte, politeneſs, arts, delicate pleaſures, and amiable men: as the aſylum of liberty, as the altar of that ſacred fire at which the torch may one day be kindled to illumine their benighted country. The French emigrants, driven to the territories of the modern Cimmerians, were aſtoniſhed to find there men better acquainted than themſelves with the affairs of their own country: but theſe were young Ruſſians who

had

had read, and meditated on what they read, from Rouſſeau and Mirabeau; the emigrants had read nothing, and brought nothing with them but their prejudices. Many young Ruſſians were better acquainted with Paris, than thoſe who had ſpent their lives in roaming about its ſtreets *. It has in general been remarked, that the Ruſſians have the moſt happy diſpoſitions, and a ſurpriſing readineſs of conception; whence they make a very rapid progreſs in everything that is taught them. There are no children more amiable or more intereſting: many, when their domeſtic education is finiſhed, have acquired more ſelect and extenſive knowledge, than other young men who have

* Count Butturlin had obtained this local knowledge to that degree, that he could carry on the moſt minute converſation with a Pariſian on the theatres, ſtreets, hotels, and public buildings of Paris. The Frenchman was aſtoniſhed, when the Ruſſian confeſſed at laſt that he had never been in France.

frequented

frequented the German univerſities: and they have particularly a wonderful readineſs at diſplaying their knowledge on ſeaſonable occaſions. Too frequently, however, theſe are precocious flowers, that produce no fruit: they ſeldom travel like an Anacharſis; and their return to their own country uſually puts an end to their ſtudies, and even to their taſte for ſcience and literature.

Telle on voit s'élever l'alouette légère ;
Elle charme un inſtant par ſon chant matinal,
Puis retombe et ſe tait ſur le gazon natal *.

" So the gay lark, with light aſcending wing,
" Soars high in air to charm the meads around,
" Till ceaſing thus in ſtrain ſublime to ſing,
" Silent he ſinks upon his natal ground."

In the ſame manner a Swiſs, after having ſpent his youth in the ſervice of France, and contracted ſplendid vices,

* From an epiſtle to a young Ruſſian.

leaves

leaves them on his return to his own country, to resume the simplicity of his ancestors. He returns to virtue, but the Russian returns to barbarism. Strong minds alone, fully captivated with the charms of philosophy or the attractions of true glory, can resist the torrent: for those talents, which the emperors pretended to encourage, became at length a motive for exclusion from the posts and honors of the court. Thus the manners of Europe, and even the character of Catharine, were in perpetual contradiction with the barbarous forms and impulse once given to the Russian government. The influence of foreign preceptors over the character and morality of the Russians is combated by prejudices and obstacles almost invincible: but this influence is constant and continual; it operates in secret on the mind; and its progress, slow as the foot of time, is but the more certain. Perhaps the young Russian nobility are the best

informed and moſt philoſophical in Europe, but a complete counter-revolution has juſt taken place in their education: ſince the progreſs of the French revolution, eſpecially ſince the commencement of the reign of the preſent emperor and the arrival of the emigrants, the human mind has taken a retrograde courſe in Ruſſia. Moſt of the *outſhitelis* at preſent are chevaliers, counts, marquiſes, or prieſts; for the ſame thing has taken place with the emigrants as did formerly with the coloniſts whom Catharine imported to cultivate her deſerts; all who could read and write left their fields to become tutors. But the effects of this will be tranſient: the new trade adopted by theſe gentlemen will teach them to think, or they will not purſue it long. It is almoſt impoſſible to be an *outſhiteli*, without becoming in ſome degree rational: what is heard, ſeen, and felt, every day, in theſe territories, muſt operate

rate in favor of liberty. A Montmorenci in the poſt of a tutor could not fail to become a democrat.

In the *Voyage de deux Français en Ruſſie*, "Tour of two Frenchmen in Ruſſia," are ſome ſtrange reflections on theſe *outſhiteli*. The travellers are aſtoniſhed that they are almoſt all democrats, though enjoying an eaſy and agreeable life in the houſe of a great lord; and rally them for not quitting this, to devote their lives to the cauſe which they eſpouſe. You ſay that they are acting properly in France; why, then, do you not go thither? This is the dilemma propoſed by theſe gentlemen. But, were any one to praiſe the cuſtom in China for the emperor to plough a field himſelf, would they in the ſame manner ſay to him, Why do you not repair thither and hold the plough? Such is the inconſiſtency of people! May not a man acknowledge the truth of a principle, all

the

the conſequences of which he cannot carry into practice? Muſt not a Frenchman in Peterſburg rejoice at the victories of his country, becauſe he could contribute nothing to them but his ſecret prayers? May he not rejoice to ſee liberty, order, and happineſs re-eſtabliſhed in his country, though he cannot return thither? Such is the language of little minds, who dare not avow a truth when they are in a place where it is dangerous not to deny it.

The progreſs of the human mind in Ruſſia, however, has lately been ſtopped, or at leaſt fettered, by the meaſures, certainly conſiſtent, adopted by the emperor to interrupt all communication between the reſt of Europe and his dominions. Peter I. never took ſo much pains and care to reform and poliſh his empire as Paul does precautions to pre-

vent light from ſpreading among his Cimmerians.

A ſharper code of laws could not be exhibited to Europe than a collection of the ukaſes promulgated by Paul ſince he came to the throne. He has lately forbidden all his ſubjects, the Livonians and Courlanders in particular, to ſend their children to ſtudy in Germany, becauſe corrupt principles prevail there. He recals, under penalty of confiſcation of their property, all who are at preſent at any foreign univerſity*: but he promiſes to permit the eſtabliſhment of an univerſity in his German provinces, where young men may be inſtructed in the moſt neceſſary ſciences. Till this univerſity is founded under his auſpices, and the diſ-

* There were thirty-ſix ſtudents at Leipſic, and ſixty-five at Jena, ſubjects of the tzar, who have juſt returned home in conſequence of this ukaſe.

ciples

ciples of Kant, quit Germany, to viſit it in queſt of a more luminous philoſophy, the Finlanders and Courlanders, Eſthonians and Livonians, muſt remain without any means of inſtruction; for there are not even any public ſchools throughout their vaſt provinces. Paul has alſo forbidden the employment of foreigners in his courts of juſtice, and the giving them eccleſiaſtical benefices. He has even gone farther: by another ukaſe, he has prohibited all foreigners from entering his dominions without his ſpecial permiſſion. This *immenoï-ukaſe* has not been publiſhed: but merchants, foreigners who have property in Ruſſia, and young men who have been ſent for thither, are ſtopped at the frontiers, or on board the veſſels in which they arrive, and ſent back, after all the expenſe and danger they have incurred.

Another ukaſe prohibits the reading of French newſpapers. No paper can enter Ruſſia, without having been examined and ſtamped by a committee of inſpection; and every man who receives by the poſt, by a courier, or from a traveller, any newſpaper, or printed book of any kind, is enjoined to carry them immediately to the committee, under penalty of being puniſhed as a rebel!

The people of Germany are more happy, for the Ruſſian newſpapers are admitted into that country; though much cannot be ſaid for the amuſement or inſtruction which they contain.

It is to be obſerved, that, under the reign of Catharine, Ruſſia was for a time the only country in Europe in which French papers were not prohibited. The Moniteur having ſpoken ſeveral times of the

the empreſs, and particularly of Paul and his court, Catharine gave orders that the Moniteur ſhould not be diſtributed till ſhe had looked it over. A few weeks after ſhe found a paragraph, in which ſhe was ſtyled the Meſſalina of the North, &c. Having read it, ſhe ſaid: "As this "concerns only myſelf, let it be diſtri-"buted." At a time when French gazettes, cockades, and ſongs were proſcribed in nations fartheſt from barbariſm: when at Turin, they who ſung *ça ira* were impriſoned, and at Vienna French was not allowed to be ſpoken, the Ruſſian government appeared to be above theſe little inquiſitorial acts, and the pupils of Colonel la Harpe were allowed to chaunt French revolutionary airs in the palace of the tzars. One of theſe carried a national cockade in his pocket, which he diſplayed with an air of triumph and defiance to the moſt timorous courtiers. It was not till after the

death of Lewis XVI. and the aſſaſſination of Guſtavus III. that Catharine, ſtruck with terror, began to yield to the ſuggeſtions of her favorites, and to take precautions which betrayed her fear*.

Still there was always more to be apprehended from the zeal of the ſubordinate tools of government, than from the diſpoſition of Catharine. Among the numerous victims of the political inquiſition Radiſchef deſerves particular regret. It is well known that Catharine frequently

* One fact will farther prove the noble ſecurity of Catharine. A brother of Marat was at Peterſburg, governor in the houſe of Soltikof the chamberlain. This Marat, while he condemned the rage of his brother, did not conceal from his friends his republican ſentiments, yet he lived in peace, and ſometimes attended his pupil to court. However, as his name might have expoſed him to ſome danger, at the time of the king's death he requeſted Catharine's permiſſion to change it, and called himſelf Boudri, from the place of his birth.

ſent

ſent young Ruſſians to travel and improve themſelves at her expenſe. Several of theſe were happily choſen, became men of merit, and brought back to their country notions of humanity with the knowledge they acquired. The moſt diſtinguiſhed and moſt unfortunate of theſe pupils of Catharine was Radiſchef. On his return he became director of the cuſtoms; and in this office of a publican, his probity, the amenity of his manners, and his agreeable company, rendered him eſteemed and courted. He cultivated literature, and had already publiſhed a work, intitled *Potſhta Dukof*, "the Reſt "of Spirits;" the moſt philoſophical and pointed periodical production that ever ventured to appear in Ruſſia. No diſturbance had been given him on account of this: but after the revolution, he had the courage to print a little pamphlet, in which he did not ſcruple to avow his hatred of deſpotiſm, his indignation againſt the

the favorites, and his esteem for the French. It was singular, that several copies of it contained the approbation of the police. Kleïf, master of the police, as famous in Russia for his blunders, as a d'Argenson, a la Noir, and a Sartine were in France for their address, was cited to answer for this approbation. He knew not what to say, for he had not read the work, which indeed would have been above his comprehension. But Radischef who was also cited, honestly confessed, that the boldest passages were not in the manuscript, when he submitted it to the censors, but that he had printed them at his own house*. To have pardoned him would

* Radischef's work is intitled a Journey to Mosco. Russian merchants have been known to give five and twenty rubles (2*l.* 10*s.*) to have it for a single hour to read in secret. I have read only a few fragments of it, among which was an allegory, in which he exposes the pride and foolish grandeur of a despot surrounded by dastardly flatterers. The following words particularly enraged Catharine, because they were pointedly directed

would have been worthy of the character which Catharine displayed on other occasions: but Radischef was sent off to Siberia. He begged permission to embrace his wife and children once more; and when he was taken out of his prison to be sent off, he was allowed to wait for them a moment on the bank of the Neva: but it was night; the drawbridge had just been raised to let a vessel through, and at this instant his unfortunate wife arrived on the opposite bank. Radischef entreated that his departure might be deferred till the vessel had passed, or his wife could get a boat; but in vain: his pitiless guard made him get into his tumbrel again, in sight of his distracted wife, who stretched out her arms to him across the river with

rected at her: "I enter the palace of Tzarsko-selo: "I am struck with the alarming silence that reigns: "every one holds his peace, every one trembles; for it "is the abode of despotism." These words procured Radischef a residence in Siberia.

loud

loud cries. Thus he departed, his heart torn by deſpair. If he be ſtill living in the vaſt deſerts to which he is confined, or if he draw breath in the mines of Kolivan, may his virtue be his comforter! His courage, however, has not been uſeleſs: in ſpite of the ſearches made after every copy, his work remains in the hands of ſeveral of his countrymen, to whom his memory is dear.

The proſcription of every one who dared to think, ſuggeſted the following fable, when the preſent emperor was grand-duke:

LE GRAND-DUC*

ET

LE VER LUISANT.

FABLE.

DANS une ſombre nuit d'été
Un ver luiſant caché ſous l'herbe
Jetoit une douce clarté.
Ce n'etoit point un phare éclatant et ſuperbe,
Il n'éclairoit qu'un pas à l'environ;
C'étoit là ſon horizon:
Mais pourtant l'inſecte lucide
Servoit de guide
Aux petits hôtes du gazon.

* A nocturnal bird, found particularly in Ruſſia. See Buffon. *Duc*, in French, ſignifies both a duke and a horned owl: *le grand-duc* is the great horned-owl in natural hiſtory.—*T.*

A ſa

A ſa lueur douce et tranquille,
La fourmi retardée atteignoit ſon azile,
Le papillon léger s'égayoit à l'entour:
En un mot, cet aſtre reptile
Embelliſſoit les nuits de ſon humble ſéjour.

Non loin de là, dans une vieille tour,
Priſon de ſa triſte famille,
Un vieux hibou tenoit ſa cour.
Un hibon hait les *vers* qui lui montrent le jour.
" Audacieux!" dit il à l'inſecte qui brille,
" Qui t'a fait ſi hardi que d'approcher de nous?
" Tu mourras."—" Monſeigneur," lui répond
" l'humble inſecte,
" Je ſuis indigne, helas! d'un ſi noble courroux.
" Je vous honore, vous reſpecte;
" Je tremble d'approcher de vous:
" A ſucer la roſée ici je me délecte;
" Mais d'aucun bruit pourtant je ne trouble vos
" nuits.
" Comment un animal foible comme je ſuis
" Peut-il offenſer Votre Alteſſe?"—
" Inſecte dangereux! *tu luis*;
" Péris, la lumiere me bleſſe."

Cela

Cela dit, le nocturne oiseau,
En écrasant le ver, éteignit son flambeau
Sans rendre la nuit plus epaisse.

THE

OWL AND THE GLOW-WORM.

A FABLE.

'TWAS on a sombre summer night,
A glow-worm, shelter'd by a flow'r,
Spread round its paly glimm'ring light,
To decorate the silent hour:
No brilliant beam, no gaudy glare,
Diffus'd afar its lustrous ray,
But thro' the softly breathing air
The insect shed its mimic day.

While

While pleas'd its harmlefs life to pafs
On hillock green of dewy grafs,
Attracted by its azure gleam,
The butterfly, with fportive wing,
Wou'd form the gay fantaftic ring,
(As in the burning noontide beam,)
Where, 'mid the gloom, this infect ftar difplay'd
Its cheerful lamp,—fpangling the realms of fhade!

Near, on a mould'ring antique tow'r,
The prifon of its moping race,
An owl had chofe its murky bow'r,
And hating day's effulgent light,
Its joy the fullen frown of night,
Its blank domain the filent fpace!
There, prompt to fpread its fhad'wy wings
Imperious, o'er lefs daring things,
Soon on the glow-worm's peaceful ftate
Fix'd his dull eyes, in envious hate.

" Bold worm!" exclaim'd the tyrant vain,
" Thou, who with fparkling light art feen
" Peering the lonely fhades between,
" How dar'ft thou mock my gloomy reign?

" Thou ſhalt expire!" The glow-worm meek,
(Its trembling light, more faint and pale,)
In humble accents, low and weak,
Thus told its true, but artleſs tale:
" I own that, of the inſect race,
" I boaſt no gaudy ſplendid grace;
" I light with feeble lamp the way
" Where prouder, loftier beings ſtray;
" I ſip the balmy dews around—
" But ne'er am heard with buſy ſound;—
" Ne'er on your calm repoſe obtrude
" With counſel vain, or clamour rude;
" Can *I* offend ſuperior things,
" Or cope with birds of pow'rful wings?"

The Owl, indignant, bold, and baſe,
Exulting o'er the inſect race,
Replied—" *You ſhine!* deteſted thing!
" To me, offenſive *light* you bring—"
Then, pouncing on his humble prey,
Darken'd, in death, its little ray;
But found, tho' quench'd the quiv'ring flame,
His ſombre hour was ſtill *the ſame!*

CHAP. XI.

SUPPLEMENT *.

French and Swiſs in Ruſſia—Their proſcription—Oath required of them—Billet of abſolution—Additional traits of the preſent emperor—Reflexions.

UNFORTUNATE young men, whom falſe accounts and fallacious hopes attract from various countries to the ſtormy banks of the frigid Neva, may you be at length undeceived by the ſketches

* This article has been in part compiled by the editor from fragments and notes left by the author, and oral but indiſputable information.—*(Note of the French editor).*

 I have

I have drawn, and thoſe I am about to trace *. Of a thouſand, who abandon their country to ſeek wealth and happineſs at a diſtance from it, few find the former in Ruſſia; the latter, none. The reſt ſigh out their lives in penury and regret, or vegetate under the rigors of an inclement ſky. The remembrance of their youthful ſports, and the manners of their country, is the only pure pleaſure which the moſt worthy taſte. Amid the abundance and diſſipation in which many paſs their monotonous lives, they experience a vague diſquiet, that alarms them: the heavy air of Ruſſia ſeems to preſs on their brows, and bend them towards the earth: they grow old ſpeedily;

* It is no longer poſſible for a Frenchman or Swiſs to enter Ruſſia. An artiſt, and two Miſſes de Montbéliard, having been ſent for to fill particular places, could not obtain leave to diſembark, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt recommendations, and were ordered to depart immediately.

their

their blood thickens; and their ſoul becomes mere matter. Thus Ovid depicts the gradual metamorphoſis of Daphne: the rude, unyielding bark envelopes her heart, which ſtill beats, but feels no longer. She loſes the faculty of thought, before ſhe loſes exiſtence; and ceaſing to live begins to vegetate.

Happy, however, he, who attains this animal vegetation! He is at leaſt inſenſible of the revolting ſcenes that ſurround him, and of his own degradation; while the man, who retains his ſenſibility, is inceſſantly tormented by the indignation which degraded humanity inſpires.

Of all the ſtrangers who happened to be in Ruſſia during the revolution, the French and Swiſs were moſt expoſed to inquiſitorial vexations. The very name of Frenchman was an affront; and the Ruſſian populace, who were in themſelves

peaceful, tolerant, and hoſpitable, were ſtirred up againſt them—Men who had before rendered themſelves diſtinguiſhed by their capacity, knowledge, and talents; many of whom held important poſts at court or in the army, or confidential ſituations in private families; courtiers, officers, tutors, artiſts, players; chamberlains, cooks *, &c. inſtantly became objects of hatred, diſtruſt, and proſcription. Catharine, who had herſelf accuſtomed the Ruſſians to ſome liberal opinions, on a ſudden adopted the oppoſite principles. The death of Lewis XVI. and the arrival of the emigrants, were the ſignals of proſcription. The emigrants particularly ſought to accuſe and ſupplant ſuch of their

* One le Bœuf, French cook to the late king of Pruſſia, having been ſent for by Catharine, did not arrive till after her death. The preſent emperor clapped him into priſon. There he remained ſix months before he obtained his liberty, and then was ordered to depart immediately, without the ſlighteſt indemnification.

country-

countrymen as did not participate their opinions; and the ancient French, who beheld the light of the revolution from afar, without ſeeing the firebrand whence it iſſued, who embraced its principles with the more candor, becauſe men of worth and letters had long borne them in their hearts, were the firſt attacked: cowards, knaves, hypocrites, and valets, who began loudly to exclaim againſt innovation, were alone ſpared.

One of the firſt victims was Cuinet d'Orbeil, who was known to all Peterſburg, and even in other parts, by his poetical pieces in the *Almanachs des Muſes*. He was a Frenchman of a warm heart, and warmth of expreſſion; a poet in the common acceptation of the word, but incapable of undertaking anything, or plotting anything, at which the government could have reaſon to be alarmed. The court was at Peterhof, celebrating

the

the festival of St. Peter. The fountains played, a ball was given, and the place was illuminated. These rejoicings attracted the more company, because the empress had not visited Peterhof for several years, as she had an aversion for that palace, which must have inspired her with gloomy thoughts*. In the midst of the feasting a courier arrived with news of the escape of Lewis XVI. The rumor was great, the joy loud, and the dance interrupted, while the news passed triumphantly from ear to ear. Count T——, who knew d'Orbeil, met him coming out of the empress's saloon. "Well, Mr. De-"mocrat," said he to him, "have you "heard the great news?"—"Yes," answered d'Orbeil, who was just come from Petersburg, "I have heard some great "news."—"Do you know that the king

* Peterhof was the palace she inhabited at the period of the revolution in 1762. Peter III. was arrested there, and strangled in an adjacent house.

"has

"has eſcaped from Paris?"—"Yes, "count:—but do you know the ſtill "greater news, that he is re-taken?"—These words were a clap of thunder to the hearers. The fact was, two couriers had arrived at Peterſburg nearly at the ſame time; but he who announced the happy eſcape of the king having been diſpatched immediately to the empreſs, to heighten the feſtivity of the day, no haſte was made to ſend off the ſecond to diſturb it. The converſation of d'Orbeil with the count, however, having been in ſome degree pointed, he was from that time obſerved and watched. A ſhort time after, a few expreſſions in favor of the revolution eſcaped him at la Hus's, an actreſs kept by Markof, ſecretary of ſtate: in conſequence of which he was taken in the night, from the houſe of M. Tſhernichef, conveyed to a veſſel in the harbour, and put down into the hold. The ſurpriſe

and

and fright turned his brain, he contrived to get out, and threw himſelf into the ſea.

'Such events occurred towards the end of Catharine's reign, when ſilly courtiers and emigrants beſieged her with fears and ſuſpicions; yet ſhe was frequently ſeen to reſume her juſtice, and even her natural generoſity. At the time this happened, Mioche, another Frenchman, having been denounced as a patriot by the emigrants, was likewiſe thrown into priſon: but Catharine ſoon ordered him to be ſet at liberty, and indemnified him for his ſufferings by ſome particular exemptions which ſhe granted him in the wine trade.

The preſent emperor makes the principles of juſtice conſiſt in his infallibility. He cannot miſtake; nobody can deceive

him. In conſequence of this opinion of his, which is well known, they who wiſh to eſtabliſh themſelves in his good graces begin by confeſſing themſelves guilty of ſome fault, even if they invent one for the purpoſe. Woe to him who endeavours to prove his innocence!

One of the moſt ſtriking acts of injuſtice, which excited moſt indignation in honeſt men of all parties, was the proſcription of colonel and major Maſſon, which diſtinguiſhed the commencement of his reign.

Theſe two brothers, who were either Swiſs or Wirtembergers, had ſerved in the Ruſſian army from their youth, and acquired ſome reputation in it. One of them, who had been *aide-de-camp* to Potemkin, having made the campaigns againſt the Turks with him, had obtained as military rewards the croſs and gold-

hilted

hilted ſword which Catharine beſtowed on ſuch officers as diſtinguiſhed themſelves. He had married a niece of the celebrated general Meliſſino, who died lately in the poſt of grand-maſter of the ordnance. The other, after having been ſome time in the artillery, and afterwards *aide-de-camp* to count Soltikof, miniſter at war *, had been placed about the perſon of the grand-duke Alexander, after the departure of colonel la Harpe. He had alſo married a Ruſſian lady, of a Livonian family of diſtinction. Both of them, having an inclination for ſcience and literature, led retired and tranquil lives with their families; beloved for the amenity of their manners, and eſteemed for their wit and underſtanding. Theſe two ſuperior officers, who had been in the ſervice twelve years, both married to

* He likewiſe finiſhed the education of the two young * * *, whoſe merit does great honor to him.

Ruſſian women, related to families of reſpectability, and poſſeſſing lands and ſlaves, were torn from their wives and children by a private order of ſtate, and carried away ſeparately, in covered ſledges, under a ſtrong guard, without even knowing of what crime they were accuſed. The wife of the younger, but juſt recovered from a lying-in, urged by deſpair, went the next day to wait for the emperor under the arches of his winter palace, and loudly demanded juſtice for her huſband. "Your huſband is guilty," anſwered Paul: "begone, leſt you ſhould "be trampled on by my horſe." The unfortunate lady fainted on the ground, and the emperor paſſed on. The indignation inſpired by this act of power was recorded in a citation, which the friends and relations of Meſſrs. Maſſon ventured to publiſh; and of which the following is a literal tranſlation.

"Preſſing

"Pressing citation and prayer to Messrs. "von Masson, late officers in the Russian "service *.

"These two brothers served several "years in the Russian empire, where "they acquired the reputation of being "men of courage and understanding. "The elder was colonel, chevalier, &c.; "the younger, major. Both were mar-"ried; the former, to the daughter of "general Yhrmann, a brave and respect-"able soldier, lately dead, after having "long and loyally served the state †; the "latter,

* See the Journal intitled *La Minerve, par M. d'Archenholz*, May 1797, p. 366. "Ernstliche "Aufforderung und Bitte, an die, in russischen diensten "gestandenen, Herren von Masson."

† General Yhrmann was governor-general of Siberia, and director of the mines of Kholivan, for twenty years. The sums he drew from them were greater

"latter, to a baroneſs Roſen, of a Livo-
"nian family, well known and eſteem-
"ed *. Both had lovely children, and
"lived

greater than they ever yielded before or ſince, as the regiſters atteſt. He augmented the civiliſation, population, commerce, and welfare of thoſe vaſt provinces; and retired poor, after having long ſuperintended the working of the richeſt gold and ſilver mines on the continent. As a reward of his probity, the crown did not even pay him 10,000 rubles (1000*l.*) which are ſtill owing to him; and his only daughter, proſcribed with her huſband, wanders far from the tomb of her worthy father. She is likewiſe niece to the celebrated general Meliſſino, who has rendered Ruſſia ſuch great ſervices; and related to the Dolgorukies and Soltikofs.—*(Note of the French Editor).*

* Catharine II. wiſhing to reduce Livonia to the ſame form of ſlavery as the other provinces, required, according to her cuſtom, that the Livonians themſelves ſhould come to implore theſe new chains as a favor. The deputies were ſent accordingly with thoſe of the other nations: but general Roſen, father of the perſon here mentioned, who was at the head of the deputies, far from ſubſcribing what was required of them, made ſome remonſtrations to Catharine, who ſaid with rage: "Who gave you the boldneſs thus to oppoſe my "will?"—"The name of Peter the Great, who ſigned "our.

" lived with their families as good fa-
" thers. The elder even poſſeſſed eſtates
" in Eſthonia.

" One day laſt December (1796), the
" two brothers were ſummoned before

" our liberties; and that of Catharine the Great, who " has ſworn to maintain them:" ſaid the old man. Catharine the Great, however, diſplaced him, and ordered other deputies to be appointed. Count Stackelberg was found more compliant; and, proud of what Roſen conſidered as a diſgrace, ſold his country (1). He was rewarded by immenſe tracts of land, ſurrounding thoſe of the old general, which were taken from the ſtates of the province. Such was the origin of the fortune and influence of Stackelberg, who ſo long ruled Poland, embroiled Sweden, and afterwards acted the buffoon in the antichambers of Zubof.

Beſide her relations in Livonia, the wife of the younger Maſſon is related to ſeveral Ruſſian families of conſiderable weight, as the Sievers, Beſborodkos, Tamaras, &c. who, far from employing their influence to obtain the reſtoration of her property, deſerted her in her diſtreſs as ſoon as her huſband was proſcribed.—*(Note of the French Editor).*

(1) The words country, liberties, &c. when uſed of Ruſſia or Livonia, relate to the nobility only; for the people are mere property.

" general

" general Arkarof, director-general of the " police. With him they found one " count de Plaiſance, an officer in the " corps of cadets of the artillery, a man " whoſe very exiſtence ſeems to accuſe " nature of an illiberal joke. This man " had written a letter to Moſco, in " which he ſaid to his friends, among " other things, ' Many jacobins * are ſent " to the frontiers, and I am much afraid " Meſſrs. Maſſon will be ſerved in the " ſame manner.' This letter was opened " at the poſt-office, no doubt by order " from the ſovereign, and gave occaſion " to this diſagreeable rendezvous. The " count de Plaiſance defended his expreſ- " ſion by the terrible charge, that Meſſrs. " Maſſon, when they read the newſpa- " pers, had always taken the part of the " French. Meſſrs. von Maſſon avowed

* What the term jacobin ſignifies in Ruſſia has been mentioned in a preceding chapter.

" this;

" this; but begged to know what infe-
" rence could be drawn from it deroga-
" tory to their character, their honor, or
" even their duty as Ruſſian officers.
" The reſult of this buſineſs, as far as it
" has been made public and divulged,
" was, that the two brothers, without
" any farther information, were thrown
" into a *kibitka* *, and conveyed to the
" frontiers under a ſtrong guard.

" The wife of the younger Mr. von
" Maſſon fell at the feet of the emperor
" in the public ſtreet, and loudly ex-
" claimed: 'Juſtice! juſtice! and no
" favor!' The emperor anſwered: 'They
" are guilty; I love order in my coun-
" try:' and would have paſſed on. Mrs.
" Maſſon, however, in deſpair ſeized the
" horſe by the bridle; on which the em-

* A covered ſledge uſed in Ruſſia.

" peror

" peror told her, to take care ſhe was not
" trampled under foot.

" 'I had rather die,' anſwered this
" courageous lady, ' than be the wife of a
" man who has forfeited his honor.'——
" It was in vain: the emperor ſpurred his
" horſe, and went forward *.

" All Peterſburg has juſt witneſſed the
" tranſaction. The emperor is juſt, and
" we preſume, either that he has been
" deceived, or that Meſſrs. von Maſſon
" have in fact committed ſome crime,
" which at the time eſcaped notice †. It
" is

* The wives of the two brothers left their country to follow them, and their property was confiſcated.

† As, to the great aſtoniſhment of their friends, Meſſrs. von Maſſon have not yet anſwered this citation, they give room for ſuſpicion, that their proſcription might have ariſen from more ſerious cauſes than thoſe mentioned above. Brought up on the heights of Mount

" is true we cannot explain the myſtery
" in which the affair is involved: if they
" be

Mount Terrible, they perhaps imbibed there ideas which Ruſſia could not ſtifle. The elder had been in the ſuite of Potemkin, and that of Zubof: the younger was at court, about the grand-duke Alexander, and under the protection of the empreſs:—had they not ſome concern in the project formed of placing that prince on the throne inſtead of his father? a project which Catharine entertained, and which occaſioned many others to fall into diſgrace at her death. Even Alexander was watched, and all the officers in his ſuite diſmiſſed. They who know Ruſſia, and remember, that a few officers of the guards, with Leſtocq, a French ſurgeon, were ſufficient to effect the revolution that placed Elizabeth on the throne, will not think this ſuppoſition improbable. It is known likewiſe, that the two Maſſons were among the principal members of a ſociety, named the Philadelphic, founded by their uncle, general in chief Meliſſino, and into which ſeveral other generals or courtiers were admitted. This ſociety, which was much talked of at Peterſburg, appeared, it is true, to be rather a convivial meeting than a political aſſembly; and Catharine, to whom it was denounced, laughed at it: but the preſent emperor may have conſidered it in a different light; for at the ſame period the ſon of Meliſſino, commander of a regiment of grenadiers, and the chamberlain Mettlef, a member of

" be guilty, why are they ſpared? if " they be innocent, why are they pu- " niſhed? In the former caſe, we venture " to obſerve, his majeſty the emperor " owes in ſome degree to his people the " making known their crimes; his people, " who adore him, who repoſe all their " confidence in his juſtice, and who " would be wretched if they had to " dread every ſecret informer.

of the ſame ſociety, were alſo diſgraced and exiled. Be it as it may, no doubt it might appear aſtoniſhing to one, unacquainted with the character of Paul, that two ſuperior officers ſhould be thus taken away from their families, without trial, and without cauſe. But he is known to have treated the agent of Sardinia with leſs ceremony, becauſe Beſborodko ſaid of him, that he adviſed his court to remain an ally of France. Paul exclaimed in a fury: " What! a jacobin at my " court! let him depart inſtantly." The Bavarian miniſter, Reglin, was likewiſe treated as a jacobin, put into a covered ſledge, and conveyed to the frontiers as a criminal; and this becauſe his maſter would not at once acknowledge Paul as grand-maſter of the order of Malta.

"The underſigned, all of them relations or friends of Meſſrs. von Maſſon, to whom it is conſequently of importance to develope this fatal ſecret, here ſolemnly require them to make their defence, if they be innocent: as men of honor, they owe this ſtep to thoſe, whoſe eſteem they have gained by their agreeable acquaintance; they owe it even to the emperor, who has ſufficient magnanimity perhaps to make reparation for the conſequences of a precipitate act, if ſome villains have deceived him*."

[*Here follow the ſignatures of the friends and relations.*]

To

* It is ſaid, that the empreſs attempted to ſpeak in favor of the younger Maſſon; but the emperor ordered her to be ſilent on the ſubject, threatening to puniſh her if ſhe did not. Some time after he ordered her to be put under arreſt for interceding on another occaſion. Going his uſual round of his palace of Pavloſsky,

To form a proper estimation of their courage, notwithstanding the caution employed in this citation, the circumstance of place, and the character of Paul must be fully known.

The following is another instance of the hardships which the French and their friends suffer at Petersburg. The French and Swiss protestants have a church at Petersburg, in which they permit the Germans also to

Pavlofsky, he caught a sentry asleep near his wife's pavilion. The unfortunate soldier was ordered the bastinado on the spot. At his cries the empress went to her window, and interceded for his pardon. "What!" exclaimed Paul, "dare you interrupt me "in an act of military duty? Do you forget, madam, "that I am your emperor also? I will make you re-"member it, however." At these words, he ordered his *aide-de-camp* to put the empress under arrest. The *aide-de-camp* hesitating, Paul threatened to reduce him to the ranks: accordingly the officer went to inform the empress that she was under arrest, and placed a guard at her door. This was the second time of her being thus served.

perform

perform public worſhip in their own language: but as the original funds of the church were furniſhed by the French, they retained the management of it. The Germans aſpired to a perfect community of property in it, and commenced a lawſuit, which they loſt. They entreated the protection of Paul, who ordered the ſenate to reviſe the ſentence, which however they confirmed. The Germans made a freſh appeal, and Paul ordered ſentence to be given in their favor. Mannſbændel of Muelhouſe was the French miniſter, and count Gollofkin, a captain in the navy, was one of the elders of the church*. Theſe took the liberty of making ſome remarks on the emperor's partiality. Mannſbændel was thrown into a dungeon, whence he was at length

* The family of the counts Gollofkin having been diſgraced under the reign of Elizabeth, came into Holland, and embraced the proteſtant religion. Being afterwards recalled to Ruſſia, it retained its religion, and is the only Ruſſian family that profeſſes proteſtantiſm.

liberated

liberated with injunctions to quit Ruſſia: count Gollofkin received orders to quit Peterſburg immediately; and then freſh orders to repair on board the ſhip he commanded, where on his arrival he was immediately turned before the maſt.

At the news of the death of Lewis XVI. Catharine, ſeized with affright, took meaſures of ſafety againſt the French in Ruſſia. They were enjoined to take the oath of allegiance to Lewis XVII. and to their holy religion; and ſwear hatred and deteſtation to the principles profeſſed in France. From the liſts printed by order of government, there were ſeven or eight hundred Frenchmen in Peterſburg, and more in Moſco; all of whom found themſelves compelled to comply with this injunction. A few only, who had been for ſome time preparing to return to France, where their property was, choſe rather to depart within the ſpace of a week, as the ukaſe enjoined in caſe of

refuſal.

refuſal. This ukaſe was as abſurdly compoſed, as it was inconſiſtently executed. Not only the French were obliged to take the oath, but almoſt all foreigners who ſpoke French, or who had their paſſports written in that language; ſo that Brabanters, Piedmonteſe, Milaneſe, and natives of Liege, were obliged to do homage to the king of France. It ſeemed as if the Ruſſian police had foreſeen the grand reunion, that was ſoon to take place, and wiſhed to ſanction it beforehand. Some natives of the thirteen cantons, Montbelliard, Neufchatel, and Wirtemberg, found themſelves under the ſame compulſion. The grand-duke Paul exacted it from all foreigners in his ſuite indiſcriminately; and ſeveral officiouſly anticipated his wiſhes and commands. A greater number, however, excuſed themſelves, ſaying they were not born ſubjects of France; and prevailed on the police at leaſt to liſten to reaſon.

When Paul became emperor, he went much farther than his mother. He ordered all the ſtrangers who were in Ruſſia to profeſs the religion in which they had been brought up. Thus the catholics were enjoined ſtrict obſervance of the rites and commands of the Romiſh church. An ukaſe in all the different languages was poſted up, enjoining every one of them, under pain of being treated as rebels, not to defer the holy ſacrament of penance, and to prepare themſelves for receiving the hoſt at Eaſter: at the ſame time the prieſts were ordered to give abſolution only to ſuch as ſhould merit it. The catholic church, which had before been empty, was now crowded: and the prieſts belonging to it, French, Germans, Italians, and Poles, aſſumed their ſeats in their confeſſionals. Before every confeſſional a box was ſet up, into which the penitent was obliged to throw a card, containing his name, profeſſion, and

abode;

abode; and every evening theſe cards were carried to the emperor. The perſon confeſſed then received a ticket of abſolution, ſigned by the prieſt, which admitted him to the communion table. This ticket was likewiſe a card of ſecurity to him, which he produced, when requiſite; before the police. Innkeepers and houſekeepers were directed to ſee theſe orders carried into execution with reſpect to perſons lodging in their houſes, and to inform againſt ſuch as did not frequent the churches, or who wore pantaloons, round hats, or lapelled waiſtcoats. The ſick were charitably informed, that they might require the confeſſor to attend them at home; and the poor, that the hoſt ſhould be carrried to them gratis.

The reader may judge of the embarraſſment of moſt of the French, who before this had lived in Ruſſia as free as poſſible with regard to religious opinions, of which the

the government took no notice. It was neceſſary to ſubmit, however. The emigrants, who were depicted to Paul as libertines, were obliged to go to maſs in form, walking two by two, between a double row of Ruſſian ſoldiers.

Such catholics as were in eaſy circumſtances ſoon found means of obtaining tickets of abſolution, even without confeſſing. The prieſts ſold them at firſt for fifty rubles (5*l.*) then twenty-five (2*l.* 10*s.*) and at laſt diſpoſed of them for ten rubles (1*l.*) apiece, agreeing to throw the cards into the box themſelves into the bargain.

A ſcene that paſſed near this catholic church deſerves notice here. Paul cauſed a ſervice to be celebrated in honor of the Duke of Wirtemberg, father of the empreſs, who had juſt died at Stutgard. As it was not in character for him to be preſent at this maſs, he reſolved to place

himſelf

himſelf at the head of the grenadiers, who encompaſſed the church, to maintain order. It was extremely cold, and his horſe, a native no doubt of a warmer climate, could not remain motionleſs. Weary of bridling, wheeling, and making uſeleſs efforts to keep him ſtill, he began to gallop through the ſtreet, paſſing and repaſſing before the troops, and a great crowd of people, whom the funeral ceremony and the emperor's attendance had attracted. As Paul came galloping on, the crowd took off their hats, and bowed themſelves. A group aſſembled on the green bridge, more than four hundred paces from the ſpot, at length put on their hats, on account of the coldneſs of the weather and the diſtance. Paul ſpied it, and ordered them immediately to be ſurrounded by the troops, and ſent to the houſe of correction. There were fifty or ſixty perſons of various conditions: they who were not nobles were whipped three

ſucceſſive days, the nobles were degraded, and ſuch as were officers were turned into the ranks as common ſoldiers. Among them was a Geneveſe of the name of Martin, who bribed an officer of the police to allow him to write to ſome friends at court. In conſequence he was ſet at liberty, but, indignant at the inſult, he inſtantly left Ruſſia.

Some time after, Paul ordered the corpſe of the unfortunate king of Poland to be interred in the ſame church. He came himſelf to examine the funeral decorations, and the preparations for the ceremony. An upholſterer, employed on the occaſion, was at the top of a ladder, dreſſed in a jacket and pantaloons to work more commodiouſly. Paul, being informed he was a Frenchman, named Leroux, ordered him to come down, and immediately commanded him to be baſtinadoed in the midſt of the church.

These

These are some of the vexations to which foreigners, Frenchmen in particular, are exposed in Russia. It is unquestionable, that their situation has become still more deplorable since Paul has declared war against France. What humiliations and insults have they been forced to undergo at the house of correction in Petersburg, as if it were the slave prison of Constantinople!

But this is not the worst. Frenchmen, after they have suffered these evils, may in vain demand an asylum even in their own country. They will be driven from it like the bird, seeking shelter in the tempest-beaten oak, which is forced away by the agitated branches. Liberty herself is a captive, and insulted in France: she is Bradamante fallen into the cave of Merlin.

Frenchmen coming from Russia are refused permission to re-enter France, under

pretence,

pretence, that they muſt have taken an oath to renounce their country. Ah, Frenchmen! do you forget how many contradictory oaths you yourſelves have taken within the ſpace of five or ſix years? Are thoſe, which have been forced upon your unfortunate countrymen in foreign lands, alone to be religiouſly kept, at the very moment when you make ſport of violating thoſe which you yourſelves have taken unanimouſly in the face of heaven and of France? At leaſt conſider the moment when this oath was exacted. It was when the head of Lewis had juſt fallen, and every monarch trembled for his own; when Leopold died, as report ſaid, by poiſon; and Guſtavus, as was aſſerted, by your aſſaſſinating weapons*; when Marat and Robeſpierre bore ſway.

* At the court of Ruſſia it was aſſerted, that the jacobins had aſſaſſinated Guſtavus, and poiſoned Leopold. It would have been dangerous there to ſeem to doubt it.

Judge

Judge of the dreadful alarm ſuch news muſt produce in Ruſſia. The French at Peterſburg ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, and were afraid of being all maſſacred. The leaſt they expected was a general proſcription. I ſay now, as I thought then, Catharine, even at that juncture, diſplayed greatneſs and moderation. By the oath ſhe required, ſhe placed the French under the protection of the government, and ſaved them from the fury of the people. None of the allied powers, though reputed leſs barbarous, adopted a meaſure ſo humane. At the moment when the unfortunate French were maſſacred at Vienna, Naples, and Rome, a brother of Marat appeared in ſafety at the court of Catharine.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TAURIQUE PALACE, *and of the Fête which Prince Potemkin gave there to Catharine II.**

THE Taurique palace was the place chofen by prince Potemkin for the fplendid entertainment which he gave his fovereign, and which was confidered as a teftimony of gratitude for the greatnefs to which fhe had raifed him. After the death of this favorite, Catharine chofe it for her autumnal refidence.

The façade of this building is compofed of an immenfe colonnade, fupporting a cupola. The entrance is into a grand

* As this palace has been frequently mentioned in the work, we have thought proper to add the following defcription of it, and of the entertainment which prince Potemkin gave there to his fovereign. It is taken from Storch's " Picture of Peterfburg."

 veftibule,

veſtibule, communicating with the apartments on the right and left; and at the farther end is a portico, leading to a ſecond veſtibule of prodigious ſize, receiving light from the top, and ſurrounded at a great height by a gallery, intended for an orcheſtra, and containing an organ. From this a double row of pillars leads to the principal ſaloon, deſigned for grand entertainments. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the impreſſion made by this gigantic temple: it is more than a hundred paces long, wide in proportion, and is ſurrounded by a double row of coloſſal pillars, between which, at mid-height, are boxes ornamented with feſtoons elegantly ſculptured, and lined with ſilk. From the vaulted roof are ſuſpended globes of glaſs, which ſerve as chandeliers, and from which the light is infinitely reflected by looking glaſſes, placed at all the extremities of this vaſt hall. It has neither furniture, nor ornaments, except ſome vaſes

of

of Carrara marble, aſtoniſhing for their ſize and the beauty of their workmanſhip, placed at both ends of the ſaloon, which are rounded into ſemicircles. Near this ſaloon is the winter garden, ſeparated from it only by the colonnade. The vault of this vaſt edifice is ſupported by pilaſters in the form of palm-trees; within the walls are tubes, to conduct heat round the building; and canals of metal, filled with hot water, keep up an uniform temperature under this delightful parterre.

The eye wanders with rapture over plants and ſhrubs of every clime, reſts with admiration on an antique buſt, or views with aſtoniſhment the various fiſhes of all hues in cryſtal vaſes. A tranſparent obeliſk reproduces to the eye, under a thouſand different tints, theſe wonders of art and nature; and a grotto, hung with looking glaſſes, endleſsly reflects them. The delicious temperature, the

intoxicating odour of the flowers, and the voluptuous ſilence of this enchanting place, plunge the mind into a pleaſing reverie, and tranſport the imagination to the woods of Italy. The illuſion continues, till deſtroyed by the aſpect of all the rudeneſs and ſeverity of winter, when the enchanted eye wanders out of the windows, and beholds the froſt and ſnow ſurrounding this magnificent garden. In the midſt of this elyſium riſes the majeſtic ſtatue of Catharine II. in Perſian marble.

On this theatre of his grandeur Potemkin arranged the preparations for the entertainment he gave his ſovereign, before he departed for the ſouthern provinces, where death awaited him. This favorite ſeemed to have a ſecret preſage of his approaching end, and was deſirous yet once more to enjoy all the plenitude of her favor.

The

The preparations for this entertainment were immenſe, like everything to which his imagination gave birth. He employed artiſts of all kinds for ſeveral months: more than a hundred perſons aſſembled daily, to prepare themſelves for the parts he had deſtined them to act, and every rehearſal was a kind of feaſt.

At length the appointed day arrived to gratify the impatience of the whole capital. Beſides the empreſs and imperial family, prince Potemkin had invited all the court, the foreign miniſters, the Ruſſian nobility, and many individuals of the firſt ranks in ſociety.

At ſix in the evening the entertainment was opened with a maſked ball. When the carriage of the empreſs approached, meat, drink, and clothes, of all kinds, were diſtributed in profuſion among the aſſembled populace. The empreſs

entered the veſtibule to the ſound of lively muſic, executed by upwards of three hundred performers. Thence ſhe repaired to the principal ſaloon, whither ſhe was followed by the crowd; and aſcended a platform, raiſed for her in the centre of the ſaloon, and ſurrounded by tranſparent decorations, with appropriate inſcriptions. The company arranged themſelves under the colonnade, and in the boxes; and then commenced the ſecond act of this extraordinary ſpectacle.

The grand dukes Alexánder and Conſtantine, at the head of the flower of all the young perſons about the court, performed a ballet. The dancers, male and female, were forty-eight in number, all dreſſed in white, with magnificent ſcarves, and covered with jewels, eſtimated to be worth above ten millions of rubles (a million ſterling). The ballet was performed to ſelect airs, ſuitable to the occaſion,

and

and interſperſed with ſongs. The celebrated Lepic concluded it with a *pas* of his own compoſing.

The company then removed to another ſaloon, adorned with the richeſt tapeſtry the Gobelins could produce. In the centre was an artificial elephant, covered with rubies and emeralds; and his cornac was a Perſian richly clad. On his giving the ſignal, by ſtriking on a bell, a curtain roſe, and a magnificent ſtage appeared at the end of the apartment. On it were performed two ballets of a new kind, and a lively comedy, by which the company were much amuſed, concluded the ſpectacle. This was followed by chorus ſinging, various dances, and an Aſiatic proceſſion, remarkable for its diverſity of dreſſes, all the people ſubject to the ſceptre of the empreſs being repreſented in it.

Preſently

Preſently after, all the apartments, illuminated with the greateſt care, were thrown open to the eager curioſity of the crowd. The whole palace ſeemed on fire: the garden was covered with ſparkling ſtones; mirrors innumerable, pyramids, and globes of glaſs, reflected the magic ſpectacle in all directions. A table was ſpread with ſix hundred covers; and the reſt of the gueſts were ſerved ſtanding. The table ſervice was of gold and ſilver; the moſt exquiſite dainties were ſerved in veſſels of the greateſt richneſs; antique cups overflowed with the moſt coſtly liquors; and the moſt expenſive chandeliers gave light to the table. Officers and domeſtics in great number, richly clothed, were eager to anticipate the wiſhes of the gueſts.

The empreſs, contrary to cuſtom, remained till midnight. She ſeemed to fear her departure would check the hap-

pineſs

pineſs of her favorite. When ſhe withdrew, numerous bands of ſingers, and harmonious muſic, made the vaulted roofs of the palace reſound with a hymn to her honor. At this ſhe was ſo moved, that ſhe turned towards prince Potemkin to expreſs her ſatisfaction: he, overpowered by the ſentiment of what he owed his ſovereign, fell at her feet, took her hand, and watered it with tears. This was the laſt time it was in his power to teſtify his gratitude to the auguſt author of his grandeur in this place.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

On Korſakof.

ON occaſion of the retreat of the Ruſſians from Switzerland, the following anecdote, taken from M. de Caſtera's Life of Catharine, appeared in the public papers:

" Korſakof, the empreſs's favorite, had a handſome " face, and was of a very elegant figure; but, poſſeſſ- " ing neither underſtanding nor knowledge, he was as " incapable as Zoritz of diminiſhing the influence of " Potemkin. A ſingle fact will diſplay his character. " As ſoon as he had obtained the poſt of favorite, he " conceived a man like him ought of courſe to have a " library. Accordingly he ſent for the moſt celebrated " bookſeller in Peterſburg without delay, and inform- " ed him, that he wanted books for his houſe at Va- " ſiltchikof, of which the empreſs had juſt made him " a preſent. The bookſeller aſked what books he " wanted. ' You underſtand that better than I,' " anſwered the favorite; ' it is your buſineſs: but " there muſt be great books at bottom, and little ones " at top; as they are at the empreſs's."

We

We are far from disputing the truth of this anecdote, which has been confirmed to us by several credible persons to whom the bookseller related the story at the time: but we must inform our readers, that the newspapers, when they inserted it, confounded the favorite Korsakof with another of the same name, who commanded the Russian army in Switzerland. General Korsakof is a man of sense, and by no means destitute of knowledge: he made the campaign in Flanders under prince Cobourg, and well knows what a library is.

THE END.

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